LIBRARY
STATE TEACHERS COL
JOHNSON CITY, TENN.

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXLI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1935 No. 3661

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 253
EDITORIALS:
Sanctions or War? 256
Showdown at Geneva 257
Farce in Albany 258
ISSUES AND MEN. SENATORS WAGNER, NYE, AND OTHERS. By Oswald Garrison Villard 259
CARTOON: "SOON, ADOLF, THERE WILL BE NO ONE LEFT TO BLAME BUT ME AND YOU." By LOW 260
"SOCIAL SECURITY" UNDER THE NEW DEAL. By Abraham Epstein 261
GERMANY CODIFIES LYNCH LAW. By Emil Lengyel 263
EXIT THE FILIPINO. By Carey McWilliams 265
THE FUTURE BEGINS IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By Margaret Marshall 266
THE MEANING OF THE MODERN DRAMA. I. THE CONDESCENSION OF THE CRITICS. By Joseph Wood Krutch . . 269
CORRESPONDENCE 270
LABOR AND INDUSTRY:
Apology for Not Being a Communist. By Heywood Broun . . . 274
How the Lumber Strike Was Broken. By Selden C. Menefee . . 275
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 276
BOOKS:
Salvation from Within. By Dorothy Van Doren 277
The NRA and Recovery. By Maxwell S. Stewart 277
Middle Western Marriage. By Mary McCarthy 278
Russian Reminiscences. By Hans Kohn 279
Shorter Notices 279

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
RAYMOND GRAM SWING CHARLES ANGOFF

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL MAXWELL S. STEWART
DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—DOMESTIC: One Year $5; Two Years $8; Three Years $11. CANADIAN: 50 cents a year additional. FOREIGN: $1 a year additional. THREE WEEKS' NOTICE AND THE OLD ADDRESS AS WELL AS THE NEW ARE REQUIRED FOR CHANGE OF SUBSCRIBER'S ADDRESS.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1897, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1935, by the Nation, Inc.
Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. Walter F. Grueninger, Circulation Manager. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

WITH HUEY LONG filibustering until the last minute, the Seventy-fourth Congress managed to adjourn on its second attempt. The indescribable chaos which marked its last hours, following the revolt of Southern Senators against the cut in the AAA cotton loan, was merely the climax of a riotous session. Yet despite differences between the Administration and Congress on many major issues and constant friction between the two houses, an impressive amount of significant legislation was enacted. The social-security bill, though grossly inadequate and defective, must nevertheless rank among the most far-reaching pieces of legislation ever adopted by an American Congress. Add to this the banking bill, the utilities act, the gigantic appropriation for public works, the Wagner labor bill, the recent neutrality legislation, the Guffey bill, and the increased income and estate taxation, and one has a record of legislative achievement exceeded only, perhaps, by the Seventy-third Congress. Looked at from the standpoint of the needs of the American people in the sixth year of the depression, however, the record is by no means satisfactory. The great majority of the eleven million unemployed are still wholly unprovided for, and the demise of the NRA left the millions of employed without protection in the matter of hours and wages. The great accumulations of wealth are practically untouched by Roosevelt's widely heralded tax measures, and our antiquated and outworn tariff and commercial policies—which lie at the root of the depression—remain fundamentally the same as in the heyday of post-war insanity.

THE HAMILTON FISH MENTALITY of certain State Department officials doubtless explains the otherwise inexplicable protest filed by the United States against the recent conference of the Third International in Moscow. Surely the existence of the Comintern is scarcely news, even to the State Department. Nor has the affiliation of the American Communist Party with the Third International ever been kept secret. The Communist Party is a legal organization which has for its purpose the socializing of our economic order—an aim shared, according to the Republicans, by all the members of the New Deal. These facts were all known in November, 1933, and there has been no change in the situation since that date. That Soviet representatives in this country have scrupulously refrained from the least connection with American political activities is incontrovertible. No one has even accused them of interfering in our affairs. The protest was based solely on the participation of American Communists in a conference held on Soviet soil and on remarks made by them which were said to indicate Comintern influence in the American political scene. In asking the Soviet government to prevent Americans from participating in the Comintern, we are in effect asking the Soviets to do our own dirty work for us. We do not and legally cannot object to Communist activity in this country. But we do object, apparently, to our Communists making speeches about the American political situation in foreign countries. Just what the State Department expects the Soviet government to do is not clear. Surely it is not so unrealistic as to expect it to ban the Third International altogether. We suspect that what it really wishes to prevent is the further use of the Comintern as a sounding board for mass discontent and disaffection in this country.

IT HAPPENED ONCE BEFORE in the brief history of the Third Reich that a minister stated his case in the forum of public opinion and defied the Propaganda Ministry by distributing his speech to the German people. Vice-Chancellor von Papen, after his famous Marburg address, by a mere accident escaped death in Hitler's blood purge of June 30, 1934. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht is in no such danger. After Schacht's recent speech in opposition to Nazi Jew-baiting, Julius Streicher and his rowdies of the S. A. and the Hitler Youth arranged a number of noisy street demonstrations demanding Schacht's removal, but farther than that the matter will not go. Dr. Schacht has announced his financial plans for the immediate future. On September 1 he will convert public treasury (short-term) notes amounting to one billion marks into ten-year bonds, the third refunding operation since the beginning of 1935. The savings banks will be forced to take half of this new issue, although they have al-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ready advanced the state a billion marks. But since these institutions have estimated aggregate deposits of close to twelve billion marks, the German government should find it a simple matter to extract another four or five billions from the same source in the next three or four years. The other five hundred millions the government will take from the reserves of the business banks. With this financial reserve the Nazi dictatorship will be in a position to pay for its armaments and its job-producing enterprises for some time to come. Under present conditions it would be hopeless to try to float a bond issue for anything approaching that amount in the open market. The future of the Third Reich is too uncertain. The public, especially the moneyed interests, have no exalted faith in its ability to meet its obligations one, or two, or ten years hence. By using the savings of the masses to convert short-term notes into long-term bonds, Schacht leaves the Reichsbank free of government paper to accumulate funds for a possible emergency. Insurance companies, business banks, savings banks, mortgage banks, and the gold-discount bank must invest hard cash in these exceedingly doubtful government bonds. The Reichsbank holds its fists in its pockets that it may the better come to the assistance of the Nazi regime should a crisis arise. The Reichsbank is Hitler's last hope. Its president can challenge even Streicher and Goebbels with impunity.

SOME YEARS AGO General Erich von Ludendorff propounded the theory that the Jews, Catholics, and Masons started the World War for their own separate and collective good. Since then he has specialized in the international crimes of the Jews, and now, according to the Associated Press, he has developed the remarkable thesis that "Jews are deliberately fomenting extreme nationalism in Japan in order to imbue the Japanese with the idea of a world mission and then to bolshevize the nation." From this the Jews "expect to make vast gains." The theory is a beautiful one, but unfortunately it conceals a boomerang. There are about 1,000 Jews in Japan, while the total population of the country is some 65,000,000. Thus, one Jew must be more effective spiritually and intellectually than 65,000 Japanese. But the Japanese, according to Nazi philosophy, are almost as good as the Aryan Germans. Hence every Jew in Japan becomes as effective as, let us say, 50,000 German Aryans. But this conflicts with another tenet of the general's philosophy, to wit, that no Jew can conceivably be as good as even one German in any branch of human endeavor. The general, great thinker that he is, no doubt has a solution for this disturbing equation.

SOCIAL CREDIT scored its first important political victory on the North American continent when it captured fifty-six out of sixty-three seats in the recent Alberta provincial elections. This triumph was obtained by an astute application of much the same kind of tactics as those employed by the Townsend movement in this country. Instead of promising $200 a month to persons over sixty years of age, the social-credit adherents guarantee that everybody will receive at least $25 a month when their plan is perfected. While William Aberhart, leader of the Alberta movement, is somewhat vague about how this sum is to be raised, he insists that it entails no "gigantic scheme for taxation." Proponents of the social-credit theory believe that the amount of money available for the purchase of consumers' goods is always considerably less than the aggregate cost of the goods. They would eliminate the resulting gap between production and effective consumer demand by issuing credit to be used solely for the purchase of consumers' goods. This "basic dividend" would supposedly be sufficient to cover the necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. The inflationary effects of pumping a vast amount of new purchasing power into the system would be avoided, according to Mr. Aberhart, by establishing a "just price" for all commodities, and by regulating the price spread. The catch in the scheme, of course, is that it is unadulterated inflation, and no law on earth can keep prices down if the relative amount of the purchasing medium is increased. But inflationary projects have always made a strong appeal to a debt-ridden population, and it is possible that the results of the Alberta election may put new life into the moribund Douglas movement in this country.

WHEN HARRY HOPKINS was director of relief in New York State, he characterized the scheme of work-for-relief then in vogue in New Jersey as an "illegal system of forced labor." Such procedure, he said, fostered the very unwholesome attitude that relief clients should be grateful for the aid they received, whereas, if eligible for relief, they were entitled to such assistance "by virtue of being citizens." The Works Progress Administration in New York City has announced that persons on home relief who refuse to take WPA jobs at the "security wage" will be cut off relief and then arrested for non-support of their families. Mr. Hopkins's principles, like the American standard of living, are deteriorating. The head of a family of four on home relief, according to the New York *Times*, receives about $53 and is often able to pick up a few days' work, although this is forbidden, to increase his income. At the "security wage" he will get $55 a month, but will have practically no chance of earning extra income; he must also spend money for carfare and lunches. In a word, he and his family will have even less than they have been getting, and if anyone imagines that even two dollars more or less are not an important consideration he has never lived on a budget of $55 a month for four people. It will be a pretty spectacle when the Domestic Relations Court convicts its first victim for refusing to reduce his family's already deficient diet. We hope Mr. Hopkins and General Johnson will be present.

MEANWHILE white-collar workers have even less use for the "security wage" than bricklayers. When a thousand to fifteen hundred of them picketed General Johnson's office, they received assurances that no one would be fired for taking part in the protest, and a worker thus discriminated against was restored to her job. But two days later Dr. Harold G. Campbell, Superintendent of Schools, announced that he had discharged fifty-nine play-school teachers provided for the Board of Education by the Works Progress Administration. The charge against them, he said, was that they had abandoned their classes to join in the demonstration. The number has risen to 107 and Dr. Campbell refuses even to discuss the question. General Johnson, while assuring them they would not be taken off the payrolls and would be transferred to other jobs immediately, has passed the responsibility to the Board of Educa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion by stating that it is the final judge of the qualifications of teachers assigned to it. The teachers, many of whom hold licenses, have brought forth strong evidence to show that the charge of abandoning their classes is false. By careful prearrangement, in order to prevent any such charge, the children were left under adequate supervision. Mr. Campbell's accusation is leveled against trained and experienced teachers, some of whom have worked steadily winter and summer for two years without vacation or sick leave. By being transferred to other jobs they must take up work for which they are not trained; what worries the teachers even more is the possibility that they will be barred from winter education projects to which in former years they have been assigned at the close of play-school work. The real reason for their discharge is their participation in the stoppage for which General Johnson has promised there shall be no dismissals. Mr. Campbell and the Board of Education should be forced to meet the issue, and General Johnson is in a position to make them do so.

LOBBYING is rapidly developing into one of our major industries. From a swift survey of one recent week's newspapers the average citizen must wonder if there is a prominent man alive who has not drunk a cocktail with B. B. Robinson to save widows and orphans from the death sentence, dined with a shipping magnate to save the American merchant marine, and made whoopee with a blonde for the general good of the country—there must, by the way, be more blondes in Washington than in any single Scandinavian country. As Congress closes, its various committees have fifteen major inquiries planned or in process. The only one on the list in which we dare to make a presumption of innocence is the inquiry into all matters pertaining to replacement and conservation of wild life. The others include the two investigations of the power lobby and an inquiry into an alleged super-lobby maintained by the chain-store interests, an examination of bankruptcy and receivership proceedings in the federal courts, and an inquiry into international banking during the World War. Even with Congress adjourned, the newspapers are assured of a brilliant fall season, with bigger and better scandals involving our best people.

LILY-WHITE schools and colleges may be heading for legal extinction along with lily-white jury panels in the South. The precedent set in the Scottsboro case has encouraged a series of assaults on other forms of racial discrimination conducted through the office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In Maryland a graduate of Amherst, Donald Gaines Murray, was excluded from the state university law school on the ground that he was a Negro. Mr. Murray sued the president of the university and the state Board of Regents and obtained a court order directing the university to admit him. The university has entered an appeal, stating that since the court order was obtained "several other applications by members of the colored race for admission to the Law School of the University of Maryland have been received. . . . That one application by a colored student has been received for admission to the Pharmacist School. . . . That also there have been received and are on file applications by colored students for admission to the College of the University of Maryland." The appeal rather plaintively points out that these applications must be ruled on one way or the other before the opening of the college in September. The university claims that scholarships are provided for colored students in professional schools outside the state and that this constitutes the "equal educational facilities" required by law. In Virginia a Negro girl, a former student in a Northern college, has applied for admission to the state university as a graduate student. Similar applications are pending in Missouri. Each case will be fought through, if necessary to the Supreme Court, in order that definite precedents may be established.

NEGOTIATIONS have been completed between Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles and representatives of the government of Panama for a treaty which promises to rectify many of the abuses cited in Carleton Beals's recent article in *The Nation* and discussed on another page of this issue in letters from Mr. Beals and the executive secretary of the Canal. The new treaty bans armed intervention by our forces. It will permit Panama to build a trans-Isthmian highway and to construct radio broadcasting and receiving stations, a right hitherto reserved to the Canal Zone and the United Fruit Company. Obviously the new treaty is generous compared with those which previous Administrations sought to force down Panama's throat. The question is, To what extent will its enlightened purposes be carried out in practice? According to present regulations Panamanians are not to be discriminated against in the hiring of outside workers for the Canal Zone, but in practice this rule has been largely ignored. During the last trouble in Panama the United States carefully abstained from armed intervention, but it nevertheless violated the treaty of 1903 by refusing to permit the constituted authorities to transport troops over the canal and the railroad. Panama thereby got a much better government—the best, in fact, that it has ever had—but who will deny that this was intervention? Unless the United States learns to make its practice conform more closely to its treaty obligations, the latest revisions will have little more than academic value.

WE NOTE with no surprise that the recent war maneuvers of the army and the National Guard have revealed "serious and startling deficiencies in equipment and in officer and 'non-com' personnel." Only five of our tanks, it is said, are "serviceable," the rest being inefficient, costly to operate, and out of date. The whole army seems to be enmeshed in a maze of red tape, and to lag far behind foreign forces. Offhand we cannot remember any army maneuvers, either in this country or abroad, which did not reveal similar weaknesses. The recent British air maneuvers, for example, appear to have been organized for the sole purpose of frightening the British public into contributing more money for aviation. That we can understand, for there can be no doubt that Great Britain is highly vulnerable to an attack from the air. But our War Department has no such excuse. If the present army authorities cannot provide the United States with an army sufficiently strong to cope with Mexico, Canada, or any force likely to invade the country on an annual appropriation of more than $400,000,000—to say nothing of the PWA grants—the remedy is not to increase appropriations but to abolish the army as a useless luxury.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sanctions or War?

THE speed with which temporary neutrality legislation was rushed through Congress dramatizes the American people's passionate abhorrence of war. Seldom in our history has a spontaneous demonstration of the popular will been translated more quickly into action. The fact that the bill as finally adopted was satisfactory neither to the Senate isolationists, such as Nye and Clark, nor to the State Department does not rob it of its value. Even in its emasculated form it serves notice on our financial and industrial interests that another war to save profits would encounter far more determined opposition than the last one.

To assume, however, that the passage of the Pittman resolution removes all danger of our being involved in the war now looming in Africa would be fantastic. Wars are not stopped by expressions of peaceful intent. Wilson's reelection in 1916 on a "he kept us out of war" platform was fully as emphatic a declaration for peace as the present neutrality laws. Yet while the votes were being counted, powerful forces were drawing us irresistibly into the conflict. These same forces are in existence today, only slightly modified by the new neutrality legislation. It is true that from now on it will be illegal to export "arms, ammunition, or implements of war" for use by belligerent states, for American citizens to ride on ships belonging to a nation engaged in war, or for American ships to carry munitions destined for warring countries. These are steps in the right direction. But had they been in effect in 1914, there is no assurance that they would have prevented our entry into the war.

Quite apart from the tremendous influence of British propaganda and the other non-economic factors which predisposed us to enter on the side of the Allies, it is evident that the greed of armament manufacturers was but one of many forces driving us into the struggle. Only a part of our inflated exports to Europe in 1914-18 consisted of articles specifically forbidden under the Pittman resolution. Yet many of the others—including cotton, wheat, copper, chemicals, petroleum, and steel—are as indispensable to the conduct of a war as ammunition and firearms. Had neutrals not furnished Germany with fats in 1914-18 it never would have been able to hold out for four years. And from a business standpoint it makes little difference whether we sell the belligerents potatoes or cannon. An increase in the sale of any article would give some group a vested interest in the war. Credits would be necessary to finance the transaction, and after a certain period there would be a demand for loans to replace credits. The fact that loans would ostensibly be extended to finance the sale of nonmilitary supplies would only make it more difficult for the government to bar their flotation.

On the high seas the problem of neutrality remains practically unchanged. As in the past we may expect that the superior sea power will attempt to enforce a blockade to prevent supplies from reaching the enemy. The inferior power will retaliate by resorting to submarines or aircraft to check the trade of the other. The mere fact that American ships will not be carrying munitions will scarcely protect them against interference from one or both of the warring countries. It is even possible that the weakening of our traditional neutral policy will cause belligerents to have even less hesitancy than in 1917 in challenging America's "rights." Should this lead to the sinking of American ships or the loss of American lives, vociferous elements both in and out of Congress would not hesitate to call for war on the ground that our "national honor" had been violated. No neutrality laws can curb a Hearst or a Chicago *Tribune*.

The truth is that once a major war has started, the chances of remaining out of it are extremely slim. As in combating an epidemic, the best strategy is to prevent the virus from gaining a foothold. And it is at this point that the Pittman resolution with its mandatory embargo provisions raises the most serious problem. If the conquest of Ethiopia is to be prevented, it can only be through a rigorous application of sanctions. Arbitration and conciliation have been tried and have failed. Attempts of the League to exercise moral suasion have proved futile. Old-fashioned diplomacy, with its compromises and concessions, has been no more successful. Mussolini has let it be known that he is committed to a war of aggression and has virtually dared anyone to stop him. Sanctions may also fail, but they present the sole alternative to war. Surely no country was ever more vulnerable to commercial and financial pressure than Mussolini's impoverished domain. With little capital, an unstable currency, an insufficient supply of foodstuffs, and a notoriously backward industry, Italy would be unable to maintain hostilities for six weeks without active foreign aid. If in addition to other sanctions the League would order England and France to close the Suez Canal to troops and supplies from Italy, Mussolini's designs would be completely checkmated.

Obviously it would be futile for the League to invoke economic measures unless it were assured of the full support of the world's greatest commercial nation—the United States. It was particularly unfortunate that the President was forced to accept the mandatory provisions of the Pittman bill on the very day when the British Cabinet was meeting to consider the possibility of applying sanctions. Although the rumor was never confirmed that Great Britain had specifically asked for American cooperation in bringing financial and economic pressure to bear upon Italy, the chances are overwhelming that at least an unofficial inquiry was made. The action taken at Geneva on September 4 will depend very largely on the nature of Washington's reply.

At first sight it would seem that the new neutrality legislation precludes any action on our part in support of the League against an aggressor. The law specifically requires that the arms embargo be imposed on both powers, and since Italy manufactures its own munitions the burden will fall, as is usually the case, on the weaker country. The President has no power to impose a boycott or to declare an embargo on contraband destined for an aggressor. Nor does he have authority under this legislation to forbid American citizens to extend loans and credits to the Italian gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment. Fortunately, this does not mean that the Administration's hands would be completely tied should it desire to cooperate in sanctions against Italy. The embargo on "implements of war," which would be automatically applied against both belligerents, could be stretched—by Presidential definition—to cover almost any article which the League might decide to withhold from Italy. The fact that we should be unable to ship these articles to Ethiopia would be of little consequence as long as Ethiopia was able to obtain supplies from other countries. And by a fortuitous chance we already have on our statute books a law which, if enforced, would prohibit the extension of loans or credits to the Italian government while applying no such restriction to Ethiopia—the Johnson act forbidding loans to countries which are in default on their war debts to the United States.

Thus the machinery for at least a limited cooperation with the League is in existence. It remains to be seen whether the Administration has the courage and the imagination to use it. As the wealthiest and strongest of the great nations, the United States has a responsibility for leadership which cannot be shirked without disastrous consequences. Our first duty, clearly, is to caution Italy openly against violation of the Pact of Paris. Should the warning not be heeded, as is likely, the least we can do is to assure the League of our willingness to cooperate as far as our laws will permit in such non-military measures as may be decided upon. Contrary to the general impression, the risk involved in joint action of this type is negligible. Mussolini may shake his fist threateningly at Great Britain when the latter talks of sanctions, but if the United States and the League powers take a common stand he will have little choice except to seek a face-saving compromise. Such a stand is the one guaranty against a war that may destroy all that is left of Western civilization.

Showdown at Geneva

UNTIL the League Council convenes on September 4, things will remain as they are on the Ethiopian front. Italy will send no fliers to Addis Ababa and England will not close the Suez Canal. Everyone connected with the controversy will be occupied with maneuvering for position. It seems incredible that one of the most hard-headed arbiters of international politics should have overlooked the fact that imperialist tensions in Africa are too great to permit any one nation to start trouble without immediate and menacing repercussions.

At present it is obvious that Italy has at least temporarily gained the upper hand. Mussolini met England's talk about closing the Suez Canal with the bold declaration that "sanctions are war," and the subject was quietly dropped. A hastily called Cabinet meeting, it was reported, would make important decisions, but the outcome was the very unsensational announcement that Britain would do nothing before the convocation of the League Council. The transference of the fleet at Malta and the sending of naval reinforcements to the canal are elementary precautions to safeguard British interests against any eventuality.

Everything now depends on Geneva. Though no one knows what will happen there, one can make a fairly confident guess. England will probably come to the Council with new proposals more favorable to Italy than those previously rejected. Reports from Addis Ababa give the impression that the Ethiopian emperor is eager to arbitrate. Unless Mussolini insists on his pound of flesh, it should be possible for the two contestants to come to terms. But if, as seems likely at present, the Duce refuses to budge from his position, England may try to localize the conflict. Sanctions will undoubtedly be a last resort, and will be applied only if assurance of American support is obtained. The danger is that nothing will be done and that Ethiopia will be consigned to the same fate that overtook Manchuria.

Given a choice, the imperialist powers of Europe would have preferred to checkmate this flagrant Fascist attack on an inoffensive nation. But all are slaves to the prevailing insecurity on the Continent. No one knows what the next day will bring. An announcement like that which appeared in the always well-informed *Informazione* in Rome, confirming a previous report from Paris that Mussolini had offered Hitler a military alliance, a ten-year non-aggression pact between Rome and Berlin, and a common offensive against the "democratic" nations of Europe in the event of an "overt act" by the League powers, overshadows all merely humanitarian considerations. Of all the nations of Europe interested in this situation, Austria once more plays the most pathetic role. As officially recognized ward of the Duce it must register enthusiasm for his Ethiopian campaign, though it knows that the price may be its national independence.

France is in the most unpleasant position. It has linked its fate with Italy's in order to defend Austria's independence. But it must have the friendship of Great Britain or fall into the maw of the Fascist Charybdis. If, for instance, Great Britain should move for sanctions against Italy in the coming session of the League Council, France could hardly vote against them knowing as it does that the nations of the Little Entente are too intensely concerned with their own national problems to be reliable allies and that the pro-German tendencies of Bulgaria, Greece, and Hungary may, in a crisis, seriously cripple the position of the French in the Balkans. Without Great Britain, France is in danger of isolation. If the German-Italian alliance becomes a fact, the understanding with Italy will be flimsy protection indeed. In its search for allies France is negotiating for the realization of its old dream, a Danubian federation under French influence.

With the kaleidoscopic suddenness with which issues and nations emerge and disappear in the European picture, England and Italy have suddenly taken on a menacing importance in the affairs of Europe. There is a story current in political Paris which shows that England's role in the conflict has long ceased to be that of the benevolent outsider. Mussolini, it is said, quite bluntly declared to Captain Eden when the latter visited Rome a few weeks ago that he would rather come to a showdown with Great Britain there and then than be subjected to constant and irritating friction. Captain Eden, whose recent diplomatic adventures have shown him to be a very forthright young statesman, retaliated with the admission that the so-called Italo-Ethiopian conflict seemed to have developed into an open contest for supremacy between Italy and Great Britain, in which the former's firm intention to rule the Mediter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ranean had become disquietingly apparent. There are times, it seems, when the shrewdest of diplomats tire of using their words to conceal their thoughts.

At no time since its inception has Geneva been a more important factor in world affairs. Not that the League has taken or is likely to take an aggressive stand. But with both England and France vitally concerned in its continued existence it has certain obligations toward Ethiopia which cannot be ignored. General Smuts, the South African Premier, explained this a few days ago. If the League fails in its duty in the Abyssinian question, he said, the world will return to the system of individual alliances which existed before the World War. Such a development would seriously disturb the security of the British Empire. Britain must keep the League alive. The stand it takes in Geneva on September 4 will be determined by this paramount consideration.

Farce in Albany

THE New York State Federation of Labor, representing the largest section of the organization, at its recent convention at Albany rejected a proposal for the formation of a labor party and turned down a resolution favoring industrial as against craft unions, threw out a Communist, and proclaimed its whole-hearted support of the Democratic Administration, both national and local. The Albany proceedings were conducted throughout by the high moguls of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. It was Joseph P. Ryan who led the opposition to the labor-party proposal. "We all know," he said, "such a party would be the desire of Communists, who would attempt to control." It was Mr. Ryan also, as head of the credentials committee, who announced the expulsion of Angelo Savarino, delegate from the Bricklayers' Union in New York City. "The American labor movement has no use for Communists," said Mr. Ryan, who is a one-reason man, "and we will not permit any Communist to sit in this convention." It was William Green who revealed what may come as a surprise to many workers—that Governor Lehman is labor's man of the hour. To be sure, the president of the American Federation of Labor was not very specific. "It is wonderful, indeed," he said, "that a man who, like the Governor, is the product of an entirely different environment from that in which the average worker lives should be able to understand and appreciate so fully the great human needs of the hour." Finally there were only a few dissenting votes when the resolutions committee submitted the indorsement of President Roosevelt for having "demonstrated by word and deed his vital interest in the welfare of the working people" and in particular for his program for "social and economic security of the masses of the people" which "has been enacted into law."

All this is not exactly news, but it serves to emphasize once more the gulf which separates the present leadership of the federation from the American labor it pretends to represent. Even on the basis of the traditional policy of rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies, the indorsement of the present Administration does not make sense. According to the Monthly Survey of Business issued by the A. F. of L. itself, the condition of labor in terms of buying power and employment continues to grow worse. "Even before the death of the NRA [i. e., Mr. Roosevelt's policies]" reads the bulletin for June-July, "workers' buying power was gradually losing ground. . . ." As for the color of the President's labor policy, the rank and file remembers, if the bureaucracy does not, such outstanding betrayals as his attempt to persuade labor to accept the notorious no-strike "truce" offered by the steel trust—it was turned down by William Green; his extension of the automobile code, including the Wolman labor board—this controversy led to an open break between the White House and Mr. Green; his overruling, through Mr. Richberg, of the findings of the National Labor Relations Board in the Newspaper Guild and Colt Firearms Company cases; and his insistence on the "security wage," which even the Albany convention denounced—almost in the same breath with its indorsement of the Administration! Finally there is the peripatetic example of Hugh Johnson, who in spite of his strike-breaking sprees from coast to coast continues to enjoy high favor from the White House.

A few weeks ago in Connecticut representatives of 150 locals of the A. F. of L. unanimously voted for the formation of a Connecticut labor party "anti-capitalist in nature," to be based on A. F. of L. unions, independent unions, and other mass organizations, irrespective of present political affiliations. High A. F. of L. officials were conspicuous for their absence, and Miss Perkins was not one of the honored guests and speakers. Instead, its key speaker declared that the movement for a labor party had grown in part out of the bitter experience of the workers in the Colt Fire Arms strike, in which the Richberg-Roosevelt technique in defeating the provisions of Section 7-a was so well illustrated.

In Oregon the annual convention of the State Federation of Labor likewise moved far to the left. It favored the formation of a new party representing "the interests of the producers" and denounced the profit system. "We declare," runs the vigorous resolution, "that the retention of profits by any commercial or financial institution is immoral so long as there is any citizen willing and able to work who is not employed." The convention also rapped the Roosevelt "security wage," and demanded repeal of the criminal-syndicalism law in Oregon; it commended the principles of the Townsend old-age pension plan but stipulated that it be financed by steeply graduated income levies. In Oregon the rank and file has had the recent and bitter experience of seeing a militant strike of some 40,000 lumber workers sabotaged and defeated not so much by any outside agency —though the usual contingent of national guardsmen, state police, and a strike-breaking governor was on hand—as by one of that tribe of labor vice-presidents who support the House of Green and who would rather deal with an employer any time than with a worker who wants to fight for better conditions. The story of how the lumber strike was broken is told on another page of this issue.

American labor, as represented by the Connecticut and Oregon meetings, and the bureaucratic parasites which feed upon it will test their relative strength once more at the A. F. of L. convention in October. The rank-and-file protest will undoubtedly be stronger this year than it was last. Eventually it must make impossible such farcical proceedings as those which passed for a labor convention in Albany.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

Senators Wagner, Nye, and Others

IT was right and proper that Senator Wagner should stand next to the President when the social-security measure was signed, for he more than anyone else had been responsible for getting the bill through Congress and for licking it into the shape in which it was finally passed. He achieved this because he believed heart and soul in this reform and for seven years had been demanding it and creating public sentiment in its behalf. It took endless time and patience, study and hard work to get this legislation through—legislation which will long stand as a landmark and will remain in the front rank of Mr. Roosevelt's achievements. I am well aware that the law is far from what it ought to be, that it is but a beginning, and that it is probably far from satisfying Robert Wagner himself. Still it is a tremendous step forward. I do not intend, however, to discuss the law. I wish only to dwell upon the great service rendered by Mr. Wagner. We do not usually think of him as a Progressive Senator in the sense of his belonging to the little Senatorial group that goes by that name, probably because he, a product of Tammany Hall, is still a pretty good party man. But that is just another reason why we should be grateful for the highly enlightened and intelligent service he has rendered.

I wish particularly to call attention to it by way of additional protest against popular criticism of Congress as either a do-nothing body or one that does too much, and as retarding, therefore, our recovery. If you take your job in Washington seriously, the time you must give to it is overwhelming. You have to deny yourself adequate sleep and rest, many pleasures, and all social life which is not absolutely necessary. Even then one wonders how Congressmen can possibly study and digest half the legislation upon which they are supposed to hold intelligent opinions. Most people think that all a Senator has to do is to sit in his seat from noon on and listen to long and totally unnecessary speeches. They have no idea of the hours Senators must devote to the all-important committee work, the hearings, the drafting, the redrafting, revising, and amending of bills. This is often tremendously exhausting and laborious work. Then there is the mail. How a Senator ever gets through the important letters that come to him is beyond me—even if he has two or three able secretaries.

"But," friends say to me, "the trouble is that there are so few men of the kind you describe. They are a mere handful compared to the drones and mossbacks or the demagogues of the Huey Long type." To which my reply is that the group is much larger than liberals realize, because there are hard-working and conscientious men in the other camp who not only do their share in working the machinery of Congress but often make contributions of great value. Take Senator Couzens of Michigan, for example. His experience with big business concerns has often been most useful. Borah, who no longer belongs in the Progressive camp, is one of the hardest-working men in Washington. There are others less conspicuous who bear their share of the brunt of the legislative battle. When it comes to the list of the Progressives and those with progressive sympathies, the number is encouragingly large. Norris, Nye, Frazier, Bone, Schwellenbach, La Follette, Shipstead, Costigan, Wheeler, Clark (in some matters) are not all; Long of Louisiana, Walsh of Massachusetts, Neeley of West Virginia, and a number of others vote progressively on occasion. The emergence of a group of first-term Congressmen enthusiastically progressive, headed by Maverick of Texas and Marcantonio of New York, has been the happiest event of the present Congress. What both groups lack in numbers they make up in earnestness, studiousness, and being constantly on the job; only once was the Senatorial group caught asleep and that was when the infamous Tydings-MacCormack sedition bill was slipped through without a record vote or any fight against it.

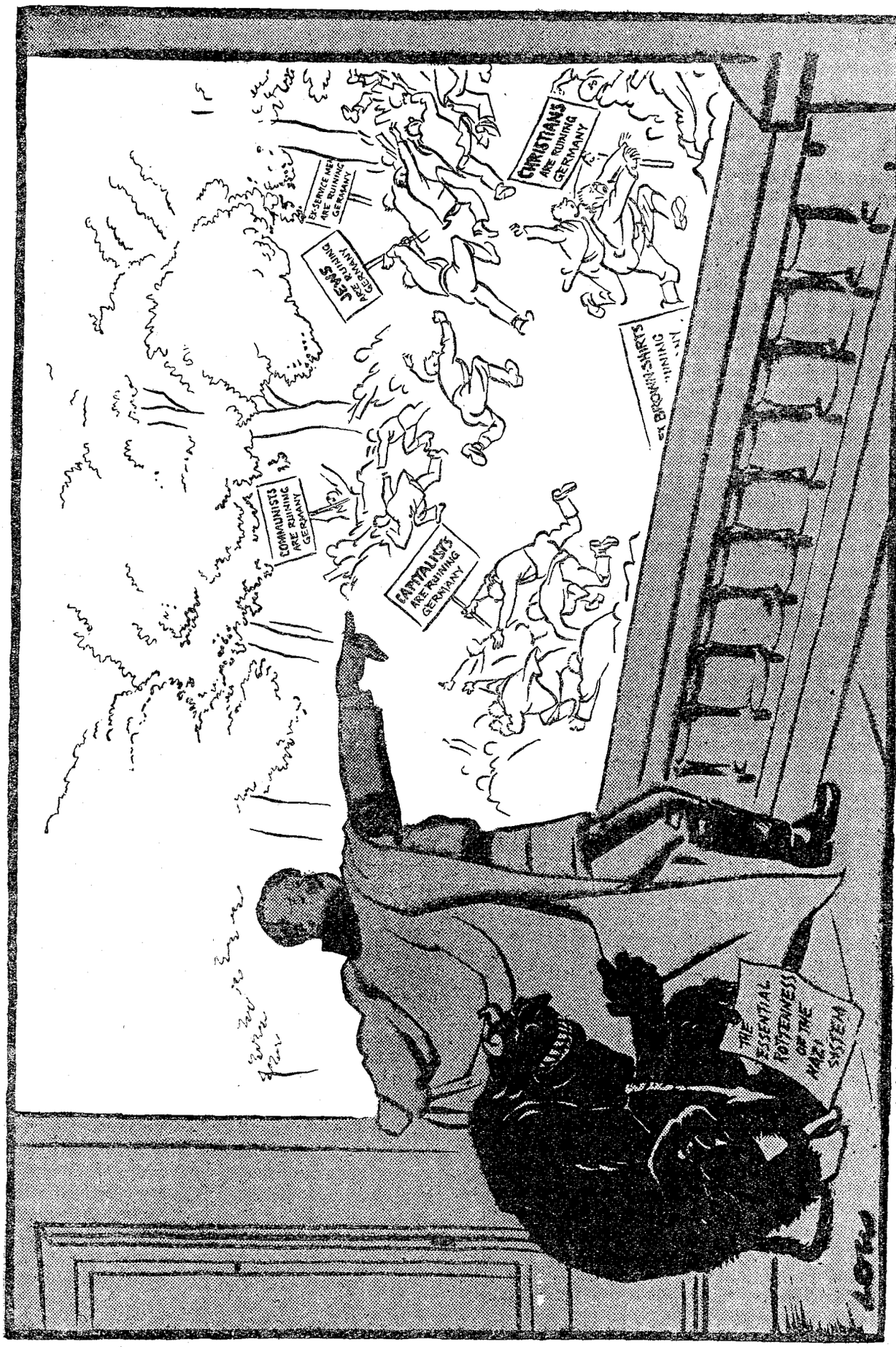
The kind of service the group renders has just been admirably illustrated by Senator Nye's jumping in and demanding the passage of the neutrality bill under threat of a filibuster. It was the more creditable because the White House was obviously opposed and the State Department, it has been reported, asked that there be no legislation at this session. But Nye and Bone saw their opportunity and made the most of it, and public opinion rose to them promptly. Here again the thanks of the country are due to Senator Nye. This was not a haphazard happening. Nye has worked up to it by months of engrossing labor on the munitions inquiry, interspersed with much speaking throughout the country to arouse public opinion, a task that makes great additional demands upon his time and strength—I am told that he accepts no fees for these talks. But meanwhile he is supposed to be in his seat with adequate regularity, keep himself informed on pending legislation, serve on other committees, and answer mail, which since the beginning of his munitions work has poured in from all over the world. No, I shall never join in any wholesale denunciation of Congress. Look at the amount of legislation of great importance that has been passed this year. By no means all of it will last, and beyond doubt much of it was hasty. But no one who reads the list of what has been put through can charge Congress with being all talk without accomplishment.

Undoubtedly regrettable compromises have been arrived at in conference committees. That has always been the case, notably in our tariff legislation, and it does not mean that Congress is unworkable or ineffective. It does call for a study of how the procedure of Congress can be speeded up. Meanwhile, I hope the liberals of the country will join me in giving unqualified praise to Senators Wagner and Nye for their recent services.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Cartoon by LOW


COMMUNISTS ARE RUINING GERMANY
CAPITALISTS ARE RUINING GERMANY
JEWS ARE RUINING GERMANY
EX-SERVICE MEN ARE RUINING GERMANY
CHRISTIANS ARE RUINING GERMANY
THE BROWNSHIRTS ARE RUINING GERMANY
THE ESSENTIAL ROTTENNESS OF THE NAZI SYSTEM
"SOON, ADOLF, THERE WILL BE NO ONE LEFT TO BLAME BUT ME AND YOU."
LOW

Copyright by the Inter-Europa Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Social Security" Under the New Deal

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

THE social-security bill was signed by the President on August 14 with a succession of pens and under flood lights—as if to make up for the previous lack of publicity accorded it. Never before in the history of this or any other country has a bill of such great scope and import been passed with public opinion in such a daze about the issues. Unfortunately the present law seems doomed from the start by its complex, slovenly, and mangled character. The subject of social insurance, in which economics, politics, statistics, social policy, trade unionism, wages, and industrial production are intertwined, was barely discussed in the United States prior to the President's message to Congress in June, 1934, when he promised to undertake "the great task of furthering the security of the citizen and his family through social insurance." For more than half a century social-insurance programs have been keen political issues throughout Europe, but here there has not been even academic interest; our newspapers gave the subject no notice until a year ago and have given it very little since. Everywhere abroad social-insurance measures have been championed chiefly by organized labor. Our labor movement has either opposed them or given half-hearted and uninformed support.

No wonder, therefore, that the President's speech of June 8, 1934, fell like a bombshell on the country. The most ardent advocates of social insurance in America were bewildered by its boldness and political audacity. Even more deluding was the almost universal approval which greeted the speech. Everybody jumped on the social-security bandwagon. Governors made it their campaign issues. Congressmen spoke for it. Candidates for state legislatures made it a plank in their platforms. Even candidates for city councils and sheriff's offices felt compelled to declare themselves in favor of social security. And when, on November 6, 1934, the American electorate gave the President the most Democratic Congress in two generations, hopes were raised sky-high.

Like all nine days' wonders, it was too good to be true. The President spoke of "social security," and who could be against that? True, he did mention "social insurance," but why bother to discover the meaning of so strange a term? Of several hundred articles and newspaper stories on social security appearing during the past year, less than a score attempted an analysis of social insurance. Social security was identified with old-age pensions, for an ardent twenty-year campaign for old-age security had brought about a tremendous popular demand for old-age protection. More than half the states had actually adopted pension laws. This movement had gained such popularity that it attracted a galaxy of nondescript promoters ranging from the Fraternal Order of Eagles to the messianic Dr. Townsend. The country was thus clamoring for old-age pensions. But the Administration, symbolized by Madame Secretary Perkins, seemed for a while almost totally unaware of this uproar. Miss Perkins had been principally concerned with the problem of unemployment insurance. As late as November 14, 1934, there was an attempt to confine the federal program to unemployment insurance. At that time the President, in a speech admittedly prepared under Miss Perkins's supervision, said, "I do not know whether this is the time for any federal legislation on old-age security."

This conflict in basic objectives marked only the beginning of the confusion. Difficulties were inherent in the very make-up of the President's Committee on Economic Security. For in creating a committee to study this subject and prepare legislation, the President, instead of setting up an expert commission, intrusted the subject to five of his busiest Cabinet members, already driven to distraction by the many tasks of the New Deal program. The responsibility for formulating the concise and comprehensive legislation fell naturally upon the chairman of the committee, Miss Perkins. For one reason or another Miss Perkins ignored the recognized American students of the problem. A one-day circus was staged in Washington on November 14 with over 300 "experts" in attendance and with the formal speeches so arranged as to frustrate one another. A staff composed largely of complete novices in social insurance or of persons connected with some fringes of the problem was recruited to advise the Cabinet committee. There were also a Technical Advisory Committee of various government office-holders, some fourteen other committees, and an Advisory Council of prominent representatives of the public, employers, and workers.

The direction of the committee's staff came exclusively from the chairman of the Cabinet committee. Since Miss Perkins had no particular panacea for old-age dependency, the staff was comparatively free to work out this phase of the program. Had their recommendations been followed, we might have had a constructive method of meeting the problem of old-age dependency. But Miss Perkins had a palliative for unemployment. Early in 1934 she sponsored the Wagner-Lewis bill providing for the encouragement of unemployment insurance through the tax-offset method. This involved a federal tax on employers' payrolls throughout the nation, to be remitted to employers who paid a duplicating tax under state unemployment-insurance systems.

When, after the nation's reaction to the President's speech of November 14, it became clear that action on old-age security could not be postponed, old-age pensions were added to the security program. Since the old opponents of labor legislation were busy fighting the NRA and other New Deal activities, their opposition to the measure was palsied. They were also convinced that it was useless to fight the swelling tide of enthusiasm for old-age pensions, and they were not much worried about the cumbersome tax-offset method proposed, since they felt this would either be held unconstitutional or prove so complicated and irksome as to nullify itself. There remained only the question of health insurance. Here the reactionary American Medical Association got busy at once and succeeded in suppressing any suggestion for health insurance made by the Cabinet

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

committee, as well as the committee's staff report on health insurance, promised for March 15, 1935.

The Administration had probably never dreamed that it would have to do more for old-age security than establish a system of federal subsidies to states enacting standardized pension laws. Such bills had been before Congress for many years, and committees in two successive Congresses had reported them favorably. This legislation would have passed the Seventy-third Congress had not the President promised a more comprehensive program for 1935. But when the Cabinet committee learned of the future expense involved—considerably exaggerated by the staff because of unfamiliarity with the problem—it indorsed the logical plan of instituting simultaneously a system of contributory compulsory old-age insurance. Although handicapped by a total lack of information on a subject requiring years of study, the staff did draft a reasonable plan, which was approved by the Cabinet committee and incorporated in the original bill.

This plan provided for payroll contributions from employers and employees to reach 2½ per cent each within the next twenty years. Pensions to all insured were to begin in 1942 out of money borrowed from the accumulated fund. After thirty or thirty-five years the federal government was to reimburse the loan. But when the President learned that the federal government would owe the fund more than a billion dollars by 1970 he ordered his Secretary of the Treasury—a member of the Cabinet committee, who apparently had approved this scheme before it was introduced—to insist that under no circumstances would the federal government assume any financial responsibility. The plan must be made self-sustaining.

Under White House pressure the House committee stepped up the contributions to a total of 6 per cent within twelve years. This transfers the entire burden of old-age dependency after 1942 to the backs of the young workers and their employers, to the exclusion of the well-to-do, who have shared in the maintenance of the aged poor since the establishment of the Elizabethan poor-law system three centuries ago. Since industry will make every effort to pass on its levy to the consumers, it means that the young employees—in their dual role of workers and consumers—will bear the major cost of the accumulated problem of old-age dependency. No other nation has ever put into operation a plan of this nature without government contributions derived from the higher-income groups.

The old-age contributory insurance plan is fraught with many other dangers. Enormous reserves, estimated at more than $10,000,000,000 by 1948 and at more than $40,000,000,000 in 1980, are contemplated. These will create a stupendous problem of investment. Experience everywhere indicates that politicians will hardly be able to keep their hands off such easy money. The cold-storaging of so much sorely needed purchasing power not only frustrates the expressed aims of the New Deal but may definitely hamper recovery. The constitutionality of the entire scheme is also extremely doubtful.

In the matter of unemployment insurance the staff's task was even more onerous. Despite violent criticism no other plan except the tax-offset method was countenanced. When the staff's expert on unemployment insurance opposed this plan as ineffective, he was promptly dismissed. His report was never published. Every effort was artfully made to have the Advisory Council indorse the tax-offset method. This body also was ignored and dismissed as of no further use when, after careful deliberation, all the representatives of the employers and of organized labor and some of the outstanding members of the public decided by majority vote against this plan. Only the clumsy, duplicating tax-offset method permitting individual company reserves and making possible a miscellany of forty-eight contradictory state laws with grave constitutional difficulties was permitted to emerge.

The work of the Cabinet committee was shrouded in mystery until the day the bill was introduced. It was prepared in great haste by an inexperienced young Harvard graduate without consultation either with students of the problem or the experienced Congressional draftsmen. It is even doubtful whether all the members of the Cabinet committee examined it. So incompetently and loosely drawn was the bill that its introduction caused a sensation. Although it was completely unintelligible, Administration impatience rushed Congressional hearings at which official spokesmen attempted to explain away the meaninglessness of the drafted bill. Administration spokesmen consumed more than 1,000 of the nearly 2,500 pages of testimony in both houses. Only after these spokesmen were through were others who persisted in their attempts allowed to speak. The House Ways and Means Committee attempted to limit all outside witnesses to five minutes and on one occasion forcibly ejected a Communist spokesman when he overstepped the time limit—a procedure unknown in Congress in many years.

The House committee could not proceed with the bill as presented and ordered its draftsmen to make it intelligible. The latter, unable properly and constitutionally to retain the unemployment-insurance provisions permitting all kinds of individual schemes, limited all state plans to the pooled fund. Angered by the slipshod job presented to it, the committee took the Social Security Administration Board out of the Department of Labor and made it independent. Outside of the contributory old-age insurance plan insisted upon by the White House and the questionable tax-offset scheme the House bill was sound in its federal grants to states for the aged, dependent mothers, and child welfare.

The proponents of social insurance were encouraged by the improvements made in the House. They looked forward to the removal of other faulty features in the Senate. But this was not to be. The Administration was insistent, and few members in either house had time to master the lengthy and complicated bill covering ten different subjects. Convinced that the Administration's choice was "all or nothing," they made up their mind to vote for all. Thus during five full days of Senate discussion not even half a column of the *Congressional Record* was devoted to the prodigious and unprecedented scheme of unemployment insurance, outside of explanatory remarks by the committee chairman and Senator Wagner, the sponsor of the bill. The economically unwise and socially menacing contributory old-age insurance plan was given less than a column in the hundreds of pages of Congressional debate, and that only toward the very end. Only its constitutionality was thoroughly discussed. Senator after Senator declared that this part of the bill is unconstitutional but no one made an effort to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

amend it to avoid nullification. During the debate on the Clark amendment to exempt private pension schemes from contributory insurance a number of Senators pointed out that this would further complicate the constitutional difficulties. To this Senator Clark replied in typical vein: "The constitutionality of the proposed act is already so doubtful that it would seem to me to be a work of supererogation to bring up the question of constitutionality in regard to the pending amendment."

The Senate bill not only differed much from the original proposal but destroyed every improvement made in the House. The Clark amendment further ruined the old-age contributory plan. The House improvements on unemployment insurance were wiped out by restoring most of the original questionable provisions. Even the simple subsidy plans were undermined by the Russell amendment granting federal pensions in states which have no pensions as yet, thereby pitching the entire subject into the political arena and halting state action for old-age security. At the insistence of the House conferees the Clark amendment was eliminated and the Social Security Board, which the Senate had reinstated in the Department of Labor, was again made independent.

The United States thus possesses a new Social Security Act, just as a short while ago it also possessed a National Industrial Recovery Act and a Railroad Retirement Act. Its fate now lies with the courts. The federal grants for pensions in old age, to dependent mothers, to the blind, and to varied child-welfare and public-health activities are sound and constitutional. They mark truly advanced steps and genuine progress. The unemployment-insurance and old-age contributory insurance plans, however, are administratively and socially unwise.

The effect this bill may have on the American social-insurance movement is of vital importance. Social insurance is recognized today as offering the only practicable instrument for meeting the problem of insecurity arising from modern industrial development. It is used in communist as well as capitalist and fascist countries. Its chief asset lies in its power to distribute the cost over all groups in society—the rich as well as the poor. But in placing the entire burden of insecurity upon the workers and industry, to the exclusion of the well-to-do in the nation, the present social-security bill violates the most essential modern principles of social insurance. There is also grave danger that the administrative perplexities inherent in the bill, to say nothing of possible court nullification, may deal a death blow to the entire movement in the United States.

Germany Codifies Lynch Law

By EMIL LENGYEL

Berlin, August 15

GERMAN criminal law has been one of the pet objects of Nazi vociferations. The Nazi journals have pointed out the anomaly of living under a "heroic" Teutonic regime while at the same time having to apply a system of laws conceived by such French sob-sisters as the Encyclopedists and Rousseau. Even impartial observers saw the inconsistency of protecting the defendants in criminal trials with constitutional safeguards while exposing the rest of Germany to unmitigated tyranny. This anomaly is now at an end, and if it should occur to some Nazi leaders to stage another Reichstag fire, they could be sure that the defendants would be condemned whatever the evidence.

The change was effected through the Penal Code Amendment Law, which was promulgated on July 5 and will go into effect on September 1. It has been described by Dr. Hans Frank, President of the Academy for German Law and Reichsminister Without Portfolio, as revolutionary. The law codifies Nazi lynch justice, divorces jurisprudence from impartiality, and makes the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* the guiding star of criminal trials. This revolution in German law is accomplished, first, by making the judges entirely subservient to Nazi ideology and, second, by freeing them from the trammels of objective application of the law. Article I of the amendment provides: "Punishment will be meted out to anyone who commits a deed made punishable by law or deserving punishment in accordance with the basic principles of the criminal code or sound public sentiment. If no definite criminal law applies to the deed, it must be punished in accordance with the law the basic ideas of which best fit it." As official and semi-official commentators of the amendment have pointed out, the law and its accessory stipulations make it incumbent upon the German judge to accept fully the party line of National Socialism. If he should fail to see the light according to Nazi wishes, he may be promptly called to order by the State Attorney, who is given the right to appeal against judicial decisions that do not stretch the law in such a way as to convict a defendant.

It was a red-letter day in the history of mankind when the legal axiom, "No punishment without law" (*nulla poena sine lege*), became the keystone of the judicial structure. Under systems based on it the citizen knows what actions the state considers offenses against the community. The principle which the Nazi law announces is expressed in the axiom, "No crime without law" (*nullum crimen sine poena*). Under the old system the defendant was supposed to be innocent until found guilty; under the new he may be found guilty even if he has broken no law fitting the case. The new law, in short, gives the Nazi state the legal means to crush political opposition of every imaginable kind.

Already the law has cast its shadow over the criminal courts of the Reich, and judges anxious to please the regime have begun to apply its principles. To what tyranny it may lead can be illustrated by a few recent cases. One of them, reported in the ultra-Nazi *Frankfurter Volksblatt,* is particularly noteworthy because of the judge's comments.

An Aryan of Wetzlar wanted to marry a Jewess who had been his sweetheart for five years. He applied to the town registrar, who refused to marry them on the ground that as a National Socialist he considered such mixed marriages harmful to the community. The Aryan took his case

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the court and petitioned it to direct the registrar to perform the marriage. The court rejected the claim of the petitioner and gave its motives in the following statement:

> While it is true that existing laws do not prohibit the marriage of a man of German blood and a Jewess, this technicality must not be allowed to support the claim of petitioner. With the accession to power of National Socialism in Germany the principles of its *Weltanschauung* became the basis of the racial structure of the German Reich. . . . Under the new order the supreme aim of the country is the liberation of Germany from all harmful influences of alien races, the strengthening of the German soul, and the preservation of its purity for all times to come. It is not a valid objection that mixed marriages have not yet been forbidden, and it is rooted in the typically Jewish and liberal conceptions of law and morals. It was just such axioms as "whatever is not forbidden is permitted" that broke the backbone of the German legal system under the old regime. On the other hand, the National Socialist ideal of law proclaims the rule of "Thou shalt!" . . . And the marriage of a man of German blood and a Jewess is an unbridgeable contradiction of this ideal.

The case of a merchant-tailor in Schneidemühl was told in the *Westdeutscher Beobachter,* with words of strong commendation for the judges. According to the newspaper's story, a Jewish merchant boasted to a customer of his that a bigwig of the local Nazi Party had bought a coat from him. This statement was carried back to the Nazi, who sued the merchant for slander, although he did not deny the truth of the statement. The Schneidemühl court found the merchant guilty and sentenced him to a month in prison. The merchant took the case to the higher court in Marienwerder, which reversed the decision of the first court and ordered a new trial, not because the merchant had been unjustly punished but because the punishment was not severe enough. Said the learned judges of East Prussia:

> The lower court committed an error in protecting the aggrieved party merely in his capacity as a political leader of the National Socialist German Labor Party. The charge of buying from a Jew is a grave reflection on the honor not only of a political leader . . . but of every citizen. Those who buy from Jews are no longer members of the German nation.

Since there is no law as yet in the Third Reich against buying from a Jew or talking about such purchases, the courts at Schneidemühl and Marienwerder handed down their decisions in accordance with Nazi *Weltanschauung* rather than the letter of the law.

Another typical case was tried by a special court at Frankfurt-am-Main. The defendant was a man with an excellent war record, a victim of shell-shock. He was accused of having made disparaging remarks about the wife of General Hermann Göring. The prosecution did not even contend that his remarks constituted slander or a similar offense punishable under the law. Nevertheless, the court sentenced him to four months in prison under the special law protecting members of the government against "clandestine attacks." The man's excellent war record and shell-shock were taken into consideration.

In a trial held before the county court of Berlin-Lichterfelde, a father was deprived of the custody of his seven-year-old son. The court found that the father had no right to bring up his child since his pro-Communist leanings were notorious. Here again the law was stretched to cover an extraneous case.

After the promulgation of the penal-code amendment the State Attorney in Berlin-Moabit, referring to the crime of the Catholic nuns who had been charged with taking money out of the country for their foreign missionary work, said that since smuggling money was as execrable (*fluchwürdig*) as high treason, it should be punished with death.

The official *Nationalsozialistische Parteikorrespondenz* is crusading to make it a capital offense for Jews to have non-Jewish lessees or sublessees in their apartments and houses, for Jewish physicians to treat non-Jewish patients, and for Jewish lawyers to represent non-Jewish clients.

The ravings of that bloodhound of anti-Semitism, Julius Streicher, have received legislative backing from the new law. Streicher wants to have the "defilers" of the German race beheaded. More conservative Nazis urge that such crimes against the race be punished under the law on incest, which may mean a prison sentence of fifteen years.

Great changes are also taking place in the execution of sentences. Political prisoners, who under the old regime were segregated in fortresses, are now treated as common criminals, or—as the experience of many of them has shown—even worse. (Hitler knows from personal experience how the Weimar republic coddled its few political prisoners. While in the fortress of Landsberg on the Lech he was given complete freedom to conspire with his comrades at twilight conferences in a friendly drawing-room.) Nor will there be any coddling of short-term prisoners. In democratic countries it is the tendency to alleviate the hardships of such offenders, but the Nazis will carry out these punishments with the utmost rigor.

The search for the best way of carrying out capital punishment has caused much headache in the Reich. Members of the law-codifying commission discussed the possibility of permitting persons under sentence of death to say farewell to this world in a heroic way by drinking a cup of poison. Finally conservative counsel prevailed, and executions will be performed by the ax-man in full evening dress, his hands in spotlessly white gloves. Secretary of State Roland Freisler gets lyrical about beheading: "Death tops the criminal system, and in it the absolute mastery of the whole over the part finds its most complete, most serious, and most solemn expression."

The number of executions under the Third Reich as compared with those in the previous regimes is shown by a writer in *Das Neue Tage-Buch,* the German émigré weekly. While the annual average of executions under the Second Empire and the Republic was six or seven persons, not less than sixty-seven death sentences were passed by German courts from January 1 till July 15 of the current year, and during the same period thirty-seven persons were beheaded, while thirty sentences are either under appeal or on Hitler's desk. During these six and a half months Hitler pardoned only four men and three women. Three of the pardoned men killed their wives or sweethearts, showing that the Leader takes his dislike of women quite seriously. These executions include only the legal ones and not those in which condemned prisoners were found hanging in their cells or were shot while attempting to escape. Nor do they include the quiet blood purges in which the Nazis are said to indulge from time to time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Exit the Filipino

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT on July 11 signed HR 6464, a measure to provide free transportation to the Philippine Islands for Filipinos residing in the United States. The publicity which the measure received did not, however, make mention of Section 4 of the act: "No Filipino who receives the benefits of this act shall be entitled to return to the continental United States." In other words, the bill is in effect an exclusion act, for no Filipino who takes advantage of the act can reenter the continental United States except within the quota established in the Philippine Island Independence Act of March 24, 1934—which is tantamount to permanent exclusion. It is impossible to understand the motivation back of the transportation measure without having in mind the real story of the Filipino in the United States, which is to say, the Filipino in California.

At the time of the passage of the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, the farm industrialists intended to use Mexican labor. Mexican labor had been recruited in ever-increasing volume since 1914. It was cheap, plentiful, and docile. But suddenly the Box bill and the Harris bill threatened the supply. It was at this point that the farmers beckoned to the Filipino. In fact, the first marked increase in the number of Filipinos entering continental United States occurred in 1923, in anticipation of the exclusion act. In 1923 2,426 Filipinos entered California, whereas in the three preceding years the average annual number of arrivals had been only 618. During the years from 1923 to 1929, the average annual number of Filipinos entering the United States was 4,177. Figures compiled by the State of California, in an official report of 1930, indicate that there were about 34,000 Filipinos in the state at that time. The purpose for which this supply of "cheap" Filipino labor was recruited is conceded. The Commonwealth Club of California, on November 5, 1929, issued a report on Filipino immigration in which it was stated that "threat of Mexican exclusion has created an artificial demand for Filipino laborers. They are regarded as the only remaining substitute in the cheap labor field. . . . The large agricultural interests are acting as a conduit transmitting numbers of such immigrants."

But it was soon discovered that the Mexicans would not be placed on a quota basis. This circumstance, coupled with the discovery of the militancy of Filipino labor, prompted the farm industrialists to start a movement to exclude the Filipino. In 1927 Congressman Welch of California, who is the sponsor for HR 6464, and Senator Hiram Johnson introduced legislation in Congress which had as its aim the exclusion of the Filipino. This plot was scotched when it was pointed out that the Filipino probably could not be excluded under his status as a national, and the plan to get rid of him had to wait until the passage of the Philippine Island Independence Act created a situation which made exclusion legally feasible.

The Filipino, militantly race-conscious, began to protest against his exploitation in California at an early date, and has grown increasingly rebellious. The Filipino Labor Union, restricted to agricultural workers, has seven locals with a membership of about 2,000 in California today. The Filipino is a real fighter and his strikes have been dangerous. In August, 1934, about 3,000 Filipino workers went on strike in the valuable lettuce fields near Salinas, California. On September 3 a union of white workers employed in the packing sheds returned to work under an agreement to arbitrate. In fact, they were told to return to work by Joseph Casey, A. F. of L. official. But the Filipino field workers refused to call off the strike. State highway patrolmen were summoned and, aided by special deputies and a local vigilante group, they formed a small army which went the round of the lettuce fields "suggesting to idle Filipino field hands that they move." Approximately 700 Filipinos, among those who refused to return to work, were driven out of the Salinas fields by force. The camp of Rufo Canete, a popular Filipino labor contractor, was raided by vigilantes and burned to the ground, at a loss to Canete of approximately $16,000. Many Filipinos were corraled and held incomunicado; and of course the strike was broken.

With the exception of the Mexican, the Filipino has been the most viciously exploited of any of the various races recruited by the California agriculturists to make up their vast army of "cheap labor." Practically all Filipino agricultural labor is supplied by contract, the contractor charging for board and transportation and a fee for his services besides. It is impossible to verify just how much the average Filipino field worker is bilked by the contractor, so closely is he "protected" from investigators. The very sociability of the Filipino has been exploited. For example, the Filipinos like to work in large numbers. The use of large numbers of Filipinos in the asparagus beds of the Delta region near Stockton, California, has enabled the growers to increase productivity per acre—as it makes possible a more thorough picking—while at the same time it has decreased the average wage of the workers. In 1929, as compared with 1925, there was an increase of 16.2 per cent in the number of Filipino workers in this district, but a decrease of 38.5 per cent in the average daily earnings. Admittedly the Filipinos are excellent workers: "They are willing to work under all sorts of weather conditions, even when it is raining and the fields are wet," reads one report.

Today, after his brief but strenuous period of service to American capital, the Filipino faces deportation, as a fitting reward for his efforts. The acute Commissioner of Immigration, in reporting on HR 6464, pointed out that "the Filipino cannot be removed unless he makes application for the benefits of the act." But the Filipino lives in California, and he applies to Washington for free transportation. There is a great distance intervening and doubtless many forces can be applied in California that would not echo too loudly in Washington. It is estimated that about 15,000 Filipinos will "avail" themselves of the offer to return. But the Filipinos that I have talked to have no desire or intention to take advantage of the act. They regard it as a trick, and not a very clever trick, to get them out of this country.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Future Begins in Soviet Russia

By MARGARET MARSHALL

QUITE aside from any dishonest motives, the truth about Russia, like the value of Soviet money, depends upon who gets it. Imagine two entirely sincere seekers after this truth. One is past middle age, in spirit if not in years, fairly well off and conservative, fond of and in a position to command the amenities of life (including free speech), aware of the depression but skeptical of attempts to prevent such catastrophes. He will find that Russians don't get enough to eat, that housing conditions are intolerable, that there are soldiers everywhere, that everyone works long hours, that there is no freedom of thought, that peasants don't like collectivization, that babies are taken away from their parents and put in crèches, that children in school are filled with propaganda, that classes are too big, that hospitals are insanitary and badly equipped, that trains are dirty, that Russian women have no shape, that all plays are too long, that the plumbing is bad, that skilled workers are not skilled, that wages are low and prices are high, that life is one long pep talk, that there is great inequality in the incomes of individuals, that there is no family life, that children can be executed, that women have to clean the streets, that artists and writers are severely censored, that most things can't be bought and those that can are of poor quality, and so on. The *Saturday Evening Post* or the Hearst press could send such a seeker to the Soviet Union without so much as an instruction and be sure of an "unfavorable" report.

The other seeker is young, thinks the world is in a pretty bad way but that something can be done about it. He lacks a sense of security or is worried because millions of others lack security and run the risk of being hungry even in rich countries. He is not terrified or bored by the idea of physical hardship. He is tired of the sophisticated cult of defeatism. He feels that the social mechanism in which he lives is running down with fatal consequences for the creative impulse. In Russia he will find that the vast majority have more to eat than they used to and feel confident of having still more, that the cities are crowded but there is more building going on than anywhere else in the world, that it is considered a great honor to belong to the Red Army, that Russia is so busy it doesn't want a war, that everybody has a job and most people work overtime (with pay) because there is so much to do, that everybody gets a vacation with pay, that Russia is one big closed shop, that education is free and universal, that even a poor worker can get professional training at the government's expense, that housemaids go to school, that seventy new school buildings are being put up in Moscow this summer, that the peasants are proud of their new electrified barns and their experimental stations complete with microscopes, that mothers who work in factories or in the fields can leave their children in crèches under responsible supervision, that workers and their families receive medical care free, that some hospitals are good and some are not but that even a poorly equipped hospital may seem good to a Russian who could never go to a hospital before, that there are no "illegitimate" children, that wages are going up and prices are coming down, that goods to buy are improving in quantity and quality, that everybody goes to the theater, that writers and artists are treated better than they deserve, that criminals are given a chance to become useful citizens, that Russia, in every phase of activity, is beginning a long ascending curve of development whose future limits are indiscernible.

The truth is usually said to lie somewhere between two extremes. In the case of Russia it lies in the two extremes and all the way between. The American, above all others, is in a position to understand why this can be so. An infinite range of pictures could be drawn of American life, all of them literally true yet striking every note between the extremes of "favorable" and "unfavorable." It is easy to see how untrue any one of them might be if instead of being set in its context it were emblazoned on the cover of *Liberty* or *Harper's* or *The Nation* as The Truth About America. In Moscow in May a prominent and rich American just over from the States reported that the stock market was going up and that conditions in general were rapidly improving. According to other observers, unemployment was increasing and conditions in general were getting gradually worse. In both reports the specific fact was correct. The stock market was going up and so were the unemployment figures. The mere fact of size makes both countries the easy prey of unscrupulous or unintelligent reporters. And in both there is a basic inconsistency which increases the confusion. In America the world's most advanced technological area is being constrained by a backward political system; in Russia a highly advanced political idea is being applied to one of the earth's most backward areas.

It is possible to understand a new phenomenon only in terms of our own experience. In their propaganda against communism Hearst and his like have applied this principle with studied dishonesty. In terms of American middle-class standards, life in Soviet Russia is on a low level materially. To imply, however, that this has anything to do with communism as an economic system is as dishonest as to criticize the capitalist system because there were no ten-cent stores in San Francisco in 1849. In fact, an American may come closest to the truth about physical living conditions in Soviet Russia if he thinks of it in terms of our own pre-industrial frontier. (This is not true of the social standard of living. There were no crèches, no rest homes, no factory hospitals, no free pre-natal care on the American frontier; and these amenities are still lacking in spite of our tremendous progress.) Suppose the settlement of the West had taken place over a territory many times as large and inhabited by a race of people deeply sunk in ignorance and regarded as animals by a handful of rich chiefs who were themselves only slightly civilized. Suppose, moreover, that the pioneers had determined to telescope history by carrying out at the same time the industrialization of this area and the education and rehabilitation of its inhabitants; had determined, in other words, to bring about within a short period, over one-sixth of the earth's surface, an orderly rise

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the cultural and economic level that would take tens and perhaps hundreds of years if left to the disorderly processes of capitalist development. Such is the gigantic tour de force on which the Bolsheviks are engaged.

Consider Baku, which is a working model of this tour de force. It sprawls on the edge of the Caspian Sea in an expanse of desert. About the horizon dry hills, like dun-colored linen long folded and spread out in heaps, reflect the heat of the tropical sun. For vegetation there are the vast forests of "oil trees," the thousands of derricks which make Baku one of the great oil-producing centers. Forty-six languages are in actual use by a mixture of races that could hardly be surpassed for variety and stages of culture. There are many veiled women in the city streets, and in the outlying valleys nomads may be seen trailing along desert paths. On a tip of land above Bibi Eibat, the biggest of the oil districts, is a Persian mosque where women in more or less serious states of illness lie on rugs and pray for recovery; the naked children playing outside do not understand Russian. But at the other end of the town are headquarters of the Bolshevik planners who expect to transform Baku into a model industrial city by 1940. It is a staggering project, enough to weary the bones of Seeker Number One. At present Baku's population is around 600,000. So far, I was told, new apartments for some 50,000 people have been built. But it is expected that Baku will have a population twice as large by 1940, and according to the plan all the inhabitants will be housed by that time in the new apartments now rising steadily above the primitive, pueblo-like dwellings that climb up and down the dry knolls of the town. Nor is this all. Baku is at present dusty and hot. Already on a high hill overlooking the sea a public garden has been started. Eventually it will cover the entire slope, thus conserving moisture and affording relief from the intense heat. It will be equipped with open-air restaurants and other recreational facilities. Some distance away another huge tract of land along the sea is being converted into a park and through the city smaller areas are being planted. Meanwhile the oil industry is being remodeled along American lines.

Baku feels like a frontier town for all its ancient Oriental walls and streets. Yet one may visit there one of the newest and best examples of the ubiquitous crèche; and in the garden of a former private estate is a night sanitarium for oil-refinery workers, who are subject to diseases affecting the lungs and for that reason are given special care. At the factory they are examined every two weeks and given special rations of butter, eggs, and milk and medical supervision. If in spite of this care they develop some infection they are given treatment ranging from forty-five nights in the sanitarium, during which time they work during the day, to an indefinite stay with complete rest until recovery in one of the rest homes along the Black Sea or in the mountains.

The crèche is housed in a former mosque. Because of the language complications it is conducted in three sections—Russian, Persian, and Armenian. And the attractive young woman who showed off so proudly its toys, tool chests, and tooth brushes, carried blithely on her shoulders not only the job of fitting 240 children (in two shifts) into a regime of "cooperation," cleanliness, and naps, quite new to their experience whether they were Russian blondes or Persian brunettes; in many cases she must also teach their parents the advantages of sleeping in beds and eating with forks.

Given the complexity and variety of conditions in Baku, a writer could undoubtedly find material for a picture that would fit into the Hearst gallery of Soviet horrors. He would need merely to select his facts.

If the country is regarded as one vast frontier, it at once becomes apparent why the new Russia is far from "model" in the sense in which the term is used by Americans so conditioned to technical excellence that they take it for granted, forgetting the long years of its development. Moscow, like New York in the twenties, is full of holes and hoardings and the smell of damp cement. But the new buildings are often bleak as only unsuccessful modernistic architecture can be. The elevator in Moscow is not what it is in Manhattan. The best buildings are the factories, where light and air are the essential elements and the lesser amenities would be out of place. The great blocks of houses have many windows but are otherwise gaunt and forbidding. Inside they are more inviting. The rooms are large and light; and the joy of the occupants seems to endow them with a certain warmth. But they are a far cry from the model homes which fill American monthly magazines. The decoration is crude. The kitchen and bathroom equipment is bleak and inferior. Poor material and unskilled construction are everywhere apparent. Buildings scarcely finished have already begun to peel; there are faint cracks in the plastered walls and many rough edges. In housing, the government is faced with the task of sheltering the nation adequately and at the same time teaching its builders the first elements of construction.

The furniture displayed in shop windows is hopelessly bourgeois and the factory-made clothes show a crying need for good designers and materials (those government stores where clothes are made to order, of course at a higher price, show much better designs). The inferiority of Soviet products and processes for the home market—aside from technical factors—is also bound up with the taste of the buyers, which, like other natural resources, is only beginning to be developed. The leathery-faced peasant woman in felt boots with a burlap bag slung over her shoulders whom I saw rooted in front of a window full of cosmetics in Leningrad has not yet been able to afford her first jar of cold cream despite the success of collectivization. Another peasant woman, also leathery-faced but by her brisker movements indicating a slightly higher stage of development, was actually buying face powder in a booth in the collective market in Moscow where she had just disposed of her milk —the empty cans shone through the burlap bag slung over her back.

Within the Union itself the equipment and efficiency of institutions vary greatly. The crèche of a collective farm near Kharkhov was cruder in every way than the crèche of a workers' settlement in Moscow. The children's garden in Baku was much the best equipped of the three, but the diet of the children would hardly coincide with the ideas of a Park Avenue pediatrician. In all three the youngest Soviet generation—many of them with shaved heads and the appalling solemnity of two-year-olds—were taking the first

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

steps toward the only planned culture so far attempted. But in all three the process was beginning from a low level. In Moscow the parents were of course relatively enlightened. The intellectual level of the parents in Baku has already been indicated. Likewise, in the crèche of the collective farm, which occupied the house of a former kulak, the parents as well as the children must be taught the A B C's of culture. (Even the word culture at this stage has a frontier meaning bound up with the humble state of the mass to which it is being applied. More than once I heard it used in connection with such simple forms of enlightenment as cleanliness and literacy.) At the collective farm the windows of the room where several peasant babies were lying in their separate beds (this in itself constitutes a minor revolution in Russia) were not wide open as they had been in the Moscow crèche. The director explained that since the open window was unknown in the houses to which the babies would return at the end of the day, she was making the shift gradually.

The Russians themselves are the first to admit that Russian products and processes are inferior measured by American standards. But there can be no doubt that the next ten years will see a swift increase in material well-being in the Soviet Union which may prove disconcerting even to a Hearst reporter. The passion to master technique which extends from the government offices in Moscow to the customs clerk who investigated the mysteries of a zipper so thoroughly that he put it out of commission; the boldness of the Russians in undertaking, for all the lack of skill, projects dizzying in their magnitude; the great resources of the country; the energy of submerged millions which is only now being released—all these factors make it seem inevitable that Russia will undergo within a brief period an industrial and technical development comparable to that of America since 1900. But that development, though it is and will continue for some time to be inefficient, will not leave in its wake the waste of material and particularly of human resources that has been the fatal by-product of capitalist industrialization. In Russia industry is free of the million and one individualistic controls which have heretofore thwarted its logical development into an instrument of universal plenty; the government can consciously direct its development according to a country-wide, long-range plan. And the state has a vested interest in husbanding its human resources. In one quite unsentimental sense it is merely raising up consumers without which the vast output, both economic and cultural, of an industrialized Russia could bring only catastrophe.

From the foregoing brief outline it should be clear how much significance may be attached to the words "favorable" and "unfavorable" as applied to the huge and complex spectacle of Soviet Russia. They are exactly as significant as they would be if applied to the United States, which is much less huge and complex. It should also make clear the absurdity of the idea still held even by intelligent people that the Russian authorities in some miraculous way can keep the tourist—who is neither blindfolded nor hog-tied at the border—from seeing the "unfavorable" as well as the "favorable" aspects of Russian life. To be sure an interview with a member of the opposition is not offered as one of the items on the program of Intourist; it is also true that the tourist is shown the best example of any given development, a tendency which even a 100 per cent American should be able to understand. The average American, confronted with a new "truth about Russia," can best assay its worth as a condemnation of socialism by asking himself which of the adduced facts, providing they are accurate, may be justly attributed to a pre-industrial or early stage of development and which to socialism as an economic pattern.

In reality, of course, the argument between the Hearst press and its opponents on the left is not about life in Soviet Russia. By associating the idea of socialism with that scarcity of necessities as well as luxuries, with the high prices and low standard of living which must prevail in a country whose resources are just beginning to be developed, the propagandists on the right hope to discredit a socialized state in the eyes of the average American, to whom scarcity is rightly abhorrent. And it is unfortunate but true that the radicals in this country, out of entirely opposite motives, have fallen into the same error. They have spent most of their energy denying the truth of the Hearst allegations. Yet no one in his senses would deny that physical living conditions in Soviet Russia are lower than most Americans are used to. The real answer is that communism as an economic system has brought about remarkable improvements even in a country as backward as Russia; the potential richness of life in a socialized America, given the industrial plant which already exists, is a goal with which to fire the imagination not only of our lowest income groups but also of that great middle class of skilled workers (the A. F. of L.), technicians, and professional workers whose support must somehow be enlisted. Yet there is no doubt that in the minds of most members of that great middle class socialism is associated with the idea of scarcity, of "dividing up," as well as with an overtone of religious zeal and a curious kind of crabbed pessimism. (The technocrats played up science and plenty but lacked the political courage of their technical convictions.)

In the literature of the left, for instance, the propaganda against the controllers of wealth too often leaves the impression that wealth itself is vile. But true communism can exist only in the midst of plenty. From this point of view the preoccupation of Americans with material well-being is sound. The problem is to convince Americans that they can be securely rich only when the means of production are socially owned and operated for the benefit of all.

The religious overtone which still clings to salvation on the left needs to be dispelled if the socialist state is to enlist the support to which it is entitled in a country where the very scientific development that makes it ripe for collectivism has discredited religion. The zeal that will establish a socialist America will be closer to the cool unmoralistic passion that drives an inventor or an engineer to attain every day of our lives some new superlative in a labor-saving machine or a transatlantic liner. The impulse toward collectivism as a mere matter of efficiency is becoming stronger as the limitations of individualistic control and management become apparent. It runs like a red streak through all the muddled policies of the New Deal. To harness this impulse the radicals must devise an appeal as modern as Dnieproges.

The natural habitat of the American spirit is optimism —perhaps because of the very richness of the land itself.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet in much radical propaganda there is an undertone of pessimism, even defeatism, which dejected intellectuals may find enjoyable, but which is unbecoming to the prophets of a new and abundant life. The invention of a magnificent new steel-rolling machine which does the work of 1,500 men is likely to be reported in the left press with an unalloyed gloom, in which hatred for the steel trust somehow becomes part of the attitude toward the machine. The fact that 1,500 men have been made miserable by a machine whose only reason for existing is to alleviate man's misery is valid propaganda against a capitalist system which thus thwarts both men and machines. But it is such machines that will make a socialist society the finest man has ever conceived. They belong, for the moment, to the steel trust or the automobile magnates, but they hasten rather than defer the final collapse of capitalism. In general, American technical progress deserves more constructive attention from the left—as much, say, as it is receiving at this moment in Moscow, where the place of the machine as a servant in the building of socialism is fully realized.

It is necessary to demonstrate in unmistakable terms that nothing good can come out of the present set-up, but the crown of thorns has no place on the brow of the advocates of socialism, especially in America, which already has the industrial equipment to make it real. The fascists everywhere are riding into office on radical promises. On the left there is much less talk than there should be of the bright future which only a socialist state can deliver.

The Meaning of the Modern Drama

I. The Condescension of the Critics

By JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

BOTH commercially and artistically the theater is always dying but never dead. Its financial collapse is annually announced by at least two or three producers, and for some reason or other its critics, also, have a penchant for depressing generalizations not so frequently indulged in by the critics of any other literary form. It is the "future" of poetry or the novel that is perpetually being anticipated by those who have the welfare of literature at heart, but the standard discussion of the drama takes the form of lamentation. Occasionally, a more or less glorious past is admitted, but generally only the professional student of the drama recognizes even that, and more serious writers are likely to leave the stage severely alone except upon those recurrent occasions when they remember to express either the contempt or the regret aroused by the fact that it is hopelessly commercial, trivial, and immature.

Perhaps because they form a special class, those who do find themselves interested but not quite hopeless are always proposing organized efforts to do something drastic about the situation, and drama lovers—of the serious variety—are especially prone to unite into little groups of serious thinkers. No one ever heard of a Fiction Association; there is no Junior League Committee for the Study of the Familiar Essay; but the Drama League is so taken for granted that it seems inevitable, and whenever two or three embryo playwrights, ambitious directors, or even chronic spectators are gathered together, a "movement" is sure to result.

Browning was probably the only poet who ever generated an international association devoted to a cooperative effort to understand him, but from the time of Ibsen on it has been taken for granted—at least by those who were interested at all—not only that existing dramatic literature needs group study but also that the playwright and producer somehow need the guiding hand of clubs or "organized audiences" which can issue manifestos, lay down programs, and encourage tendencies.

Now one does, of course, occasionally hear of the same sort of thing in connection with the novel. Its future is sometimes mapped out for it and its current preoccupations lauded or condemned. But on the whole there is a much stronger tendency to regard an individual novel or the work of an individual novelist by and for itself; a much less constant inclination to discuss "the novel" as something apart from this novel or that and as something the flourishing or depraved state of which is more important than any particular achievement. And if this is true it may furnish at least one of the reasons why the drama is so generally referred to as dying or sick, for any form of art is bound to create a depressing effect if one considers the general level of achievement in that form and discounts as mere unimportant accident any one of the outstanding works by which alone it is really justified.

Time and time again I have been told either that modern dramatic literature was insignificant or, more mildly and specifically, that "this has been a dull season." Usually I have replied by citing three or four plays which seemed to me exciting, or moving, or conspicuously funny, but time and time again I have received in return some variant of the retort that though the pieces in question were obviously not without merit, in general, nevertheless, the theater was vulgar and its dramas unimportant. But so *in general* are the novels and poems and essays which indicate the "state" of fiction and poetry and comment, if it is assumed that the true state is represented by the rule rather than the exception. Art, so it seems to me, is always truly represented by the exceptions, and the only thing that really matters is that the exceptions should occur.

Up to a few years ago the drama as a whole was most commonly accused of a certain moral timidity; just now of course it is more frequently blamed for failing to dwell with sufficient insistence upon "important"—that is, economic—matters. Love, sacred or profane, is still its most usual theme, and consequently the varieties of that passion continue to furnish the material for most of its presentations. That this is equally true of all the literature, dramatic or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

otherwise, which has come down to us since the days of the Greeks might seem to indicate both that the subject does have a continuing interest and also that more variety is possible in its treatment than would at first seem likely. But for the moment we may let that point go and add that the most self-conscious and most aggressive "movement" of the moment is undoubtedly one which regards as trivial the usual preoccupations of all literature, ancient or modern. One may also add that two or three of the plays produced as part of this movement are of exceptional interest and that there is at least a possibility that it will increase in importance until it comes to play a part not unlike that played half a century ago by the "revolutionary" drama of Ibsen and his followers.

Superficially at least there is a good deal that is similar —as well as a good deal that is not—in the two situations. In both cases a set of "new ideas" was introduced into the drama, and in the former case at least their force was sufficient both to destroy a tradition and to create another. In both cases there is involved a new subject matter which seems to many repellent in itself, and in both cases there is present a large measure of proselytizing zeal. Perhaps Mr. Odets is either a new Ibsen or at least a preliminary sketch for one to come.

In the case of the "new drama" of the nineties it is now clear, however, that its greatest significance was not its most obvious one. As is so often the case, the abiding interest of these literary works seems more or less corollary to the conscious intention of their creators; and just as the main concern of the father of the English novel was that moral teaching which no one is now interested in, so too the least interesting aspect of the drama of Ibsen and Shaw is that part which represents most directly the most specific enthusiasms of the authors. "A Doll's House" and "Mrs. Warren's Profession" have now no more than an antiquarian interest, while plays like "Hedda Gabler" and "Man and Superman," in which the theses are less easy to state, remain, comparatively speaking at least, alive. In other words, it would appear that in the case of these two dramatists their political and social creeds furnished a sort of motive power, but that their best work was that in which these creeds found the least direct expression. Nor is the paradox one to be observed only in their case. The Catholicism of Dante and the anarchism of Shelly seemed of supreme importance to each, and neither is by any means irrelevant to the poetry of either. Yet the fact remains that the best work of both is certainly not to be found in their more explicitly didactic passages, and that in their case also their convictions served them best when these convictions furnished the implicit premises of their thought and imagination rather than when they were expounded as doctrine.

Dante would doubtless have objected to the suggestion that his work was too Catholic just as strenuously as Shaw would have objected to the suggestion that his was too socialistic. He would have proclaimed St. Thomas his master as doggedly as Shaw has insisted upon his devotion to Nietzsche, Samuel Butler, and Karl Marx. But neither the talents nor the function of the poet are the same as those of the teacher, and his best work is done when he uses what he has learned for his own purpose rather than when, out of enthusiasm and loyalty, he tries to repeat a lesson.

Even if we assume, then, that the new left-wing drama constitutes the beginning of an important literature, we are probably justified in assuming also that the best of it will be that in which the revolutionary convictions of its authors serve rather as premises than as items in a creed to be expounded and enforced. We need not, to take a specific example, be surprised to find that Mr. Odets's "Until the Day I Die," in which he sets out specifically to excoriate the Nazis, should seem less interesting as a play than his "Awake and Sing," in which his radical convictions merely furnish him with a point of view from which to regard the life of a Jewish family in the Bronx. Neither need one be surprised if Mr. Odets himself should violently dissent from this view. He would merely be making about his own work the same mistake which great writers of the past have frequently made, and it is no more arrogant for the critic to insist that this particular author is wrong than it is for him to pronounce a similar judgment concerning other and at least equally great writers of the past. Shaw's dictum, "Happiness and beauty are by-products," may not be universally true, but the second half of the statement is true at least of the tendential writers who may achieve beauty only in the pursuit of what they believe to be righteousness and truth but who, nevertheless, do achieve it as a by-product and not directly in the pursuit itself.

This is the first of a series of four articles and is intended to serve as an introduction by suggesting the themes of the remaining three. Of these, the first will discuss the "revolutionary drama" of fifty years ago and the last will attempt to indicate the parallels and divergences between it and the professedly "Marxian" drama of the present. The middle one will be devoted to some consideration of the established tradition of our theater and some defense of those playwrights who have contributed to it. Despite the contention of the members of the newer movement, it is, I believe, possible to represent the period between the decline of the problem play of the Ibsen school and the rise of the new proletarian drama as something more than a mere interregnum devoted to frivolity.

Correspondence

Beals on Panama

To the Editors of The Nation:

There has been noted with interest an article by Mr. Carleton Beals, captioned Revolt in Panama, which appeared in a recent issue of *The Nation*. It is felt that your attention should be invited to some of the more striking misconceptions of fact which seemingly form the basis of Mr. Beals's opinions.

The general statement that goods may be purchased in Canal commissaries at prices from 50 to 75 per cent lower than in the United States is not a fact. Nor is it a fact that the commissaries "return juicy profits to our government." The two statements are obviously incompatible, and the fact is that prices in the Canal commissaries will average about the same as in the United States even though the prices of some articles may be lower and others higher than in the United States. Prices in the commissaries are fixed so as to bring a return of 3 per cent on the investment of the government in the commissaries. Electric current and ice are, and always have been,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

produced by the government in the Canal Zone and have not been furnished privately. In referring to this matter, Mr. Beals may have had in mind the situation in Panama and not that in the Canal Zone.

It seems hardly necessary to deny the statement that the employee "who utters the least breath of discontent is soon on his way back to the United States," which is not a fact. Statements of this sort are not particularly important, but it is important when a writer of Mr. Beals's reputation falls into the serious errors indicated in the following:

> The Canal Zone has long felt that it has been generous to Panama. Along with the State Department, the banks, and the public utilities, the Zone for a long time ran the little republic through puppet governments; and its dark-skinned inhabitants, not to mention tourists, received all the benefits of low-priced commissariats, cheap movies and restaurants, and hospital service in one of the model institutions of the world. With this large additional business of a hundred thousand Panamanians and half a million tourists annually, more than the entire resident population of the country, the Zone could sell goods ever more cheaply and cut hospital fees ever lower.

In view of the fact that Mr. Beals has visited Panama and the Canal Zone, the foregoing statements are little short of astonishing. So far as this office is aware, the charge has never been made seriously, anywhere, that the Canal Zone has "run" the Republic of Panama through "puppet governments." The statement that the inhabitants of Panama and the tourists visiting the Isthmus have generally been allowed to patronize the Canal commissaries, the clubhouse, hospitals, and restaurants is simply not a fact. This is not to say that no tourist and no Panamanian non-employee of the Canal enterprise has ever used those facilities, because it is obviously impossible to prevent absolutely the occasional misuse of such facilities, notwithstanding the elaborate precautions which are taken to restrict their use to those who are authorized. Incidentally, Mr. Beals states the number of tourists to be half a million annually; in 1934, which was a good tourist year, the total number of passengers arriving on the Isthmus of Panama, including tourists, was 101,934.

Mr. Beals states that as a result of allowing Panamanians and tourists to patronize Canal facilities "all native enterprise was stifled." The fact is that Canal commissaries, completely within the rights granted by the 1903 treaty, furnish supplies to the personnel of the United States government in the Canal Zone and also furnish sea and ship's stores to passing vessels as a necessary part of the service demanded of the Canal organization. These commissaries are not open to the public generally, and it is to be noted that restrictions on sales have been self-imposed although none is prescribed in the treaty. As a matter of fact, merchants in the Republic of Panama are reaping most substantial benefits from the traffic which has been attracted to the Isthmus by the Panama Canal. Individuals not connected with the canal enterprise are not permitted to purchase in the government commissaries, and inspectors from the Canal Zone cooperate closely with those in Panama in the apprehension and punishment of those who improperly introduce into Panama purchases made in the Canal Zone. Because of this most important restriction, the expenditures made on the Isthmus by the tens of thousands of members of ships' crews and of passengers from vessels using the canal, as well as the many thousands of tourists who visit the Isthmus every year, all go to merchants in the Republic of Panama, and the aggregate of the expenditures made by these visitors each year is an item of the greatest economic importance to the Republic of Panama. It is to be remembered, too, that notwithstanding the operation of government commissaries in the Canal Zone, a substantial portion of the salaries and wages paid to United States government personnel is spent in the neighboring cities of Panama and Colon. These substantial benefits constitute a continuous transfusion of economic sustenance into the Republic of Panama. The often-repeated assertion that the policy being pursued by the United States in the Canal Zone has been gradually lowering the economic condition of Panama is the opposite of the truth. When the treaty of 1903 was ratified, the Republic of Panama had virtually no income from shipping and very little from any other source. The cities of Panama and Colon were without water and sewage systems, were practically unsanitated, and the streets were unpaved. Periodically the inhabitants suffered from epidemics of yellow fever and pestilential diseases. In 1902 the death-rate in Panama City was only a fraction under 100 to the 1,000; last year the Panama City death-rate was less than 13 per 1,000. Today, in matters such as sanitation, paved streets, water and sewer systems, health conditions, etc., these cities are unsurpassed in Central America. The economic development, likewise, has been little short of phenomenal, and the cities of Panama and Colon have more than trebled in population. It is beyond dispute that the development of these cities is directly attributable to the construction and operation of the Panama Canal.

It is not only not a fact that there is a boycott of Panamanian labor in the Canal Zone, as stated by Mr. Beals, but Panamanians are given preference over persons of other nationality by the Executive Order of February 20, 1920, which prescribes that only citizens of the United States and of the Republic of Panama may be employed at the higher rates of pay and that these citizens shall be given preference in all grades. The provisions of this order have been observed.

Referring to the Panama Railroad Company, Mr. Beals made the following observations:

> Among its numerous advantages, the railroad has that of being one of the largest single landlords in all Panama. Besides its vast tax-free realty properties in the capital, its owns Colon, the second largest city in the republic, except for nine blocks and four scattered lots. It collects ground rents for Uncle Sam from business men, houses of prostitution, open cribs, saloons, gambling dives, pick-up cabarets, private homes, and the vilest slums on the continent. High ground rents continually force native residents to sacrifice their homes. In no other place in the world is a government the owner of practically an entire foreign city. Not only are the title and present manner of using these properties dubious, but by an improper interpretation of the original concession the railroad flatly refuses to pay taxes, and though the Zone supervises sanitation, it makes no contributions to police and fire protection, public schools, parks, or other necessary public services.

It is rather important to note in connection with the lands in the city of Colon to which Mr. Beals refers, that the Panama Railroad Company, a New York State corporation, on June 4, 1850, obtained from the Republic of New Granada (now the Republic of Colombia) a concession to build a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama, and among the reciprocal exchanges in the contract of concession was the grant to the railroad company of a use of all the vacant lands on the island of Manzanillo, with the condition that these lands would revert to the government of New Granada upon expiration of the concession. The amended concession of 1867 confirmed the grant, and when the Republic of Panama was established by secession from the Republic of Colombia on November 3, 1903, the rights in the reversion passed to the newly formed Republic of Panama. By the treaty of 1903 Panama surrendered to the United States these reversionary rights in the property of the Panama Railroad Company, including the lands on Manzanillo Island. Prior to June 4, 1850, Manzanillo was a small, almost uninhabited, marshy island, most of which was swept by the tides. In the course of the years several millions of dollars were expended in filling and otherwise improving the island

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so that it might be made habitable, and the modern city of Colon is built on this land developed by the Panama Railroad Company.

The charge has frequently been made and as frequently refuted that the Panama Railroad Company is profiting through immorality existing in Colon. The practice of prostitution is strictly regulated by law in the city of Colon and is confined to a small area within the city. All land owned by the Panama Railroad Company is outside of the area so restricted. Again, it is important to note that, with unimportant exceptions, only the land is owned by the Panama Railroad and the structures erected upon the land are privately owned and rented. It is to be noted further that since 1908 all leases of Panama Railroad lands have contained the restriction that the land may not be used by the lessee or a sublessee for any class of gambling or for prostitution.

Mr. Beals's statement that "high ground rents continually force native residents to sacrifice their homes" is not a fact. It is to be noted that generally the private dwellings erected on Panama Railroad lands are owned by persons who are quite able economically to pay the relatively low land rents. The poorer classes generally reside in small apartments not owned by them, and if any of these persons have been forced to vacate their dwellings because of high ground rent, the fact is not known to this office. Land rents generally are fixed to bring no more than a fair return on the assessed valuation of the lands, which is not high. For several years during the depression a discount of one-third of the amount of the rental has been allowed for prompt payment. On July 1, 1935, the amount of this discount was reduced to 25 per cent because of generally improved economic conditions.

The exemption from taxation of Panama Railroad property in the Republic of Panama is provided by treaty and hence is not a matter within the control of the Canal administration. It may be stated, however, that this exemption from taxation was granted in return for valuable concessions enumerated in the original and supplementary contracts and was one of the considerations upon which the treaty of 1903 was negotiated. It is to be noted, too, that extensive areas in the city of Colon have been leased to the government of Panama for use as parks and playgrounds and for the erection of public buildings for nominal rentals of one dollar per year. The ordinary rental for this land would greatly exceed the value of the tax exemptions granted to the Panama Railroad Company.

The matter of the Panama Railroad Company foregoing its concessionary rights so as to permit the construction of a trans-Isthmian highway has been the subject of diplomatic conversations for a number of years, and the press reported recently that a satisfactory understanding on this subject had been reached.

The statement that the major reason for building Canal structures in New Cristobal was to enable Canal employees to evade the operation of the national prohibition act "and other strict American regulations" is too patently absurd to warrant comment. Suffice it to say that these buildings were erected on land owned by the Panama Railroad Company and that since the earliest days of canal construction there have been buildings belonging to the canal enterprise in the cities of Colon and Panama on land owned by the Panama Railroad Company.

Panamanians are not required to have a "costly car and driver's license" in order to operate their automobiles in the Canal Zone. The fees for these licenses are fixed by mutual agreement between the municipal authorities of the cities of Panama and Colon and the authorities of the Canal Zone. To operate his personal automobile in the Canal Zone the Panamanian pays a purely nominal registration fee of one dollar for his car and another dollar for an operator's license—exactly the same fees which Panama and Colon charge Canal Zone residents to operate their cars in those jurisdictions. The fees for reciprocal licenses for commercial cars are somewhat higher than for cars for personal use but are the same in the Canal Zone as in Panama and Colon.

Mr. Beals states that "the 1903 treaty obliges the United States to maintain adequate communications between the two Panamanian regions on either side of the canal, but such communications exist only at a few points and are interrupted at night." The treaty contains no such provision. As a matter of fact, however, since the completion of a highway into the interior of the republic by the Panamanian government created a need for a means of vehicular communication, a ferry and seven mile of modern concrete highway have been maintained to connect the areas east of the Panama Canal with the territory on the other side of the canal. The service furnished by this ferry has been augmented as the need therefor has been demonstrated, and at the present time ferry service is operated on a twenty-four-hour schedule daily without charge either to Panama or the users of the ferry.

It is stated by Mr. Beals that "in defiance of the treaty the Zone does not permit Panamanian customs collectors or immigration inspectors at the ports." Mr. Beals apparently overlooks the fact that the Canal Zone is not a part of the Republic of Panama and that by Article III of the 1903 treaty Panama granted to the United States sovereign rights, power, and authority within the Canal Zone "to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority." The treaty provided, however, that Panama should have the right to establish such "houses and guards as it may deem necessary to collect duties on importations destined to other portions of Panama and to prevent contraband trade." As a matter of fact, the closest cooperation exists between the customs and immigration authorities of the Republic of Panama and the Canal Zone, and considering the opportunities for misunderstanding inherent in the situation, there has been a remarkably small amount of friction.

I hope you will appreciate that the foregoing is written solely for the purpose of clearing up any misapprehensions of fact which may follow from a reading of Mr. Beals's article. It is perfectly realized that there may be room for differences of opinion as to matters of policy in the administration of the affairs of the Panama Canal, but it is believed that criticism of those policies should be based upon a fair examination of the facts.

Balboa Heights, C. Z., August 2 C. A. McIlvaine,
Executive Secretary, The Panama Canal

To the Editors of The Nation:

By the use of half-truths Mr. C. A. McIlvaine attempts to throw up a typical official dust cloud over the main thesis of my article on Panama. Also he gives the false impression that I consider still existent certain abuses changed by the Roosevelt-Arias agreement.

The manifest benefits of the Panama Canal to the world, to us, and to Panama were not at issue in my article. Restated my thesis was (1) that the right to build the canal, however much results may or may not have justified the means, was secured by force and fraud; (2) that the 1903 treaty, even with its subsequent minor modifications, gives us today an unfair advantage over the Republic of Panama; (3) that regardless of the origin of the treaty, it is now inadequate (it is in fact being changed), and that the situation which has developed at the end of thirty years is in many respects intolerable for the Panamanian people; (4) that the continuation of the present situation will work continual hardship on the Panamanian people through the perpetuation of a monopoly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arrangement. The present Roosevelt Administration has resorted to a few palliatives.

But instead of meeting the problem I have raised, Mr. McIlvaine drags out the hoary goddess of sanitation—stock argument for all our imperialistic ventures. Personally I am tired of conceiving of Uncle Sam as a glorified sewer-digger. It might be well to remember that prior to the cleaning up of yellow fever and malaria in Panama, those scourges, the causes of which had but recently been discovered, also endangered our own Southern ports. But to have done wonderful things along such lines scarcely entitles us to ignore evolving economic and political needs.

Nor am I particularly interested that in 1850 Manzanillo Island was tide-swept marshland. So was most of San Francisco. But today San Francisco is not in the position of having to rent the ground for parks and other public purposes from the railway companies that contributed to its development.

Mr. McIlvaine says that the ground rents are a fair return on "the assessed valuation," which "is not high." I do not know what he means by assessed valuation since the lands in question are not taxed. By Panamanian standards the rentals are high, and actually the ground rent charged brings in about three times what our government charges its Zone employees for the ground and houses erected thereon in the Zone itself. I have talked with numerous home-owners and others who have had to sacrifice their property to the railroad or to other more fortunate Panamanians. The recent discounts to rent-payers for cash payment naturally benefited only those not hard hit by the depression, and were a measure designed to benefit the Panama Railroad (that is, the United States government), not the renters. Also I am well aware of the provision which prevents subleasing for immoral purposes, but in a survey which I made last year with one of the Colon police officials, I found that gambling, prostitution, and pick-up dance privileges were by no means confined to the nine square blocks of the city not owned by the railroad.

The governor's reports and our census are remarkable for the things they conceal. No statistics are available to the outsider of the number of Panamanians hired on the canal, but despite the official clause cited by my critic, the evidence points definitely to discrimination, a fact confirmed by numerous personal cases brought to my attention. The last census reveals 4,301 persons in the Zone whose mother-tongue was Spanish. Deducting, as well as can be done, given the hazy classifications, those who come from Spain, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Central and South America, the conclusion is reached that in that year not over 1,200 Panamanians were employed. This represents a little over 4 per cent of the employed civilian population or a little over 7 per cent of all foreigners employed. The number of black Jamaicans probably approaches nearly 70 per cent.

Mr. McIlvaine is quite mistaken about "the total number of passengers arriving on the Isthmus, including tourists." He took the Governor's Report and misread it. The number was actually only 28,828. The number he refers to were *in transit*, in addition to the number I have here given. Besides these, 10,097 arrived by air. My estimate of a total of half a million included ships' crews. In 1934, 5,533 commercial vessels went through the canal, with an average tonnage of 5,180; 12,066 vessels cleared from canal ports. The crews all spend money, formerly much of it in the Zone, now all of it in Panama. The estimate of half a million does not include the various war vessels touching Isthmus ports. In 1934, at one time alone, 110 American war vessels visited the canal.

Mr. McIlvaine is so intent on making me mistaken in all things that he is willing to blacken the good name of the Zone administration of which he is a part. I pointed out the superior economy and efficiency of the Canal Zone. I consider it a compliment to the Zone that goods can be sold so much more cheaply than in the United States and yet return what under the circumstances becomes a juicy profit. But my critic hastens to assure us that Zone residents must pay on the average as much as in the United States, despite the fact that the merchandise is purchased in vast wholesale quantities, that it is tax-free, that it is carried in government bottoms at cost, that it pays no duties. If what he says be true, then something is rotten in Denmark and we shall presently be having a Congressional investigation. As a matter of fact, through personal pricing and lists furnished me by executive officials, I came to the conclusion that the average price is way below that paid for similar merchandise in the United States. The relatively few things of high price were provided by private contract, which would bear investigation. With reference to electric light and ice, however, more than 50 per cent of the silver employees (the poorest paid) and a large portion of the gold employees (a polite terminology for Jim Crowism) must pay the excessive rates of the local subsidiary of the Electric Bond and Share Company.

The return on investment for the whole canal is arbitrarily set at 3 per cent, then deducted from any further profits. As a matter of fact, last year's total return on canal business, as set off from tolls, was 5 per cent. For railroad-commissary activities, sales totaled $8,347,226.33, exclusive of returns from manufacturing plants, bakeries, laundries, etc., and products of a value of $4,436,000 were bought. The turn-over in the cattle industry was put at $120,514, but only $13,468 was spent in Panama for 250 head of fat steers.

Mr. McIlvaine declares that at no time have Panamanians or the visiting public ever been allowed to buy in the Zone in government commissaries or use hospital and other facilities, though he admits this has not been at all times rigidly enforced. Without going into certain abuses in the interpretation of the 1903 treaty, which my critic sets up as the final word in all matters and which I am arguing must be rectified, he need only to turn to the various executive orders of Presidents Taft, Roosevelt, and Wilson, as well as those of the governors—which owing to his position he can find within reach of his hand—to learn that our policy with regard to free sales to Zone employees, passengers, crews, ships, and Panamanians has not been uniform and has fluctuated from free sales back to restriction and vice versa. The last Governor's Report, page 66, states that "the agreement between Presidents Roosevelt and Arias imposed specific restrictions on sales to commercial vessels and reemphasized the necessity of applying the restrictions to sales generally."

The Treaty of 1903, Article VI, declares that the privileges granted the United States, including that of constructing a canal, "shall not conflict with rights of way over the public roads passing through the said Zone." This has generally been accepted by both parties to mean that transportation across the canal at road points had to be maintained by ferries, bridges, or as some now propose by subways. When I was there this ferry service, to the annoyance of Panamanians, was maintained from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. only. I can still remember my discomfiture on arriving after many hours' drive through the jungle at 9:03 p.m., with no hotel accommodations available for the night. According to the last Governor's Report, this same schedule was maintained, with twenty-four trips between the hours mentioned—not as Mr. McIlvaine states a twenty-four-hour service. If this irritation has been removed within the last two months, the step is commendable.

Unfortunately I do not have the space to take up all the misrepresentations to be found in each statement of Mr. McIlvaine's reply. I merely regret that Mr. McIlvaine has not fairly presented the facts.

New York, August 11 CARLETON BEALS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labor and Industry

Apology for Not Being a Communist

By HEYWOOD BROUN

NOT very long ago a business associate looked at me severely and said, "Heywood, I want a frank answer to an honest question. Are you a Communist?" That was easy enough. I said no. But if he had followed up his original inquiry by asking why, he would have put me into quite a pickle. In that event I should have been obliged to go into a sort of Freudian and economic autobiography.

As far as logic goes I ought to be a Communist or at least make an attempt to gain admission to that party. I mean that some sort of cooperative commonwealth seems to me the desirable goal of society, and I see only the slimmest chance of any such end being attained by democracy. Increasingly evidence piles up to support the Communist contention that there are powerful members of the present social order who cannot be dislodged by anything but sufficient force to achieve their liquidation. Even if radical legislation is passed in the United States, the Supreme Court is set to throw it out, and the curtailment of the power of that body to veto the popular will would still leave the opportunity for successful nullification on the part of the strongly intrenched.

Any evolutionary development toward the almost perfect state is a long shot. And yet up to now that is the horse I intend to back. This inclination on my part may very possibly be the result of things which would come out in my unwritten economic and Freudian autobiography. But that would be a work to be accomplished in nothing less than eight volumes. It might be rather tedious even if I had the will to write it.

Lacking such a sourcebook, the best that I can do is to rationalize my reluctance to align myself with the deep left. I am, for various reasons, a person who quails and quibbles at the sight of blood—even my own. In all fairness anybody who talks about a revolution in America ought to make some rough work sheet of what it would cost in slaughter and in agony. My Communist friends assure me that they do not favor a proletarian purge for any sadistic reasons. It is simply true that certain persons could never be induced to play along with the new order. Common sense would dictate their removal. "Would you," say these same advocates of the violent overthrow of government, "object to a surgical operation upon a patient who was dying? Would you say that the surgeon must be inhibited against the use of his scalpel because it would shed blood?"

When I say that I would not oppose surgery in emergencies I am confronted with the argument that the social body of this land is sick unto death under the capitalistic system and that only the knife can save it.

I have no reason to pretend that I think our present estate, or that which lies just around the corner, is in any way healthy. But the medical analogy is less than completely sound. The technique of revolution, in spite of one successful operation, is still far less sure than that of surgery. The wildest figures of Hearst and his allies in regard to the toll of change in Russia still remain a good deal less than the losses caused by the last great war among the imperial powers. But would the American revolution be more or less bloody than the coup which brought the Communists into power in Russia? Who can say? Nor is it within the ability of any man to predict just how long a militant and severe dictatorship would be required here to bring about a classless society. I have always been sorry that John Reed called his book "Ten Days That Shook the World." Both friends and foes of the Soviets have been inclined to take the view that the upheaval in Russia was accomplished with quick and sharp precision. The original push was fast enough and comparatively bloodless, but that was little more than a prologue to what followed.

I'm not particularly concerned with the gap between the figures of friend and foe in estimating just how many lives were required to lift the new state beyond the possibility of counter-revolution. Not all the bills and accounts are in even yet. What would it mean in America? My own surmise is that a successful Communist revolution in America might very well require fifty years and possibly a hundred. It would surely entail guerrilla warfare over a long stretch of time and a great extent of territory. It may be that my estimate of the time required is much too high. I am basing my guess on the fact that America, the so-called land of opportunity, is one of the most severely stratified nations in the world. It contains a middle class far more numerous, articulate, and class conscious than any known in Russia. To be sure, some portion of this class would probably embrace a revolutionary movement eagerly, but I doubt if the bourgeois radicals would ever amount to much more than one-fifth of the total number. The other four-fifths of the middle class would present a problem much tougher than that which the Soviet authorities face in the case of the kulaks.

I do not see any immediate prospects for a revolution in America. This opinion is not based wholly on my own observations but largely on the testimony of commentators whose judgment I trust. Some of them are Communists. To be sure, the revolution which does not seem imminent in 1935 might conceivably be taking solid shape by 1940 or even earlier. But what are we to do until the doctor comes?

By "we" I mean those of us who are frankly disappointed in the fruits of democracy and still sentimental enough to hope that there might be one more voyage left in that old hull. I think that the best and the only thing we can do is to fight the menace of fascism up to the very hilt of our capacity. It may even be that within a very few years the whole question of alignment will beyond any argument reveal itself as a choice between fascism and communism. Such a choice should be easy. But I still want to see democracy saddled for one last roundup. In fact, I'll back the old standby if he can be lured up to the post. Sure, I'll back him with almost everything I've got. Part of my bet, of course, would go on him to show I believe in democracy. But I'm no fanatic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How the Lumber Strike Was Broken

By SELDEN C. MENEFEE

Seattle, August 20

THE technique of the employers in breaking the Pacific Northwest lumber strike showed great improvement over the methods used in the maritime strike last year. The lumber operators made two significant advances: they managed early in the struggle to get the use of the state police and the National Guard; and they successfully cultivated the cooperation of the old-line union officials in breaking the rank-and-file movement.

The strike virtually ended when the Tacoma local of the Sawmill and Timber Workers finally weakened on August 3 and voted 1,391 to 97 to accept the third offer submitted by the operators. The agreement called for the reemployment of all union men without discrimination within thirty days, at a minimum wage of fifty cents an hour and the old forty-hour week. The operators agreed to collective bargaining with their own employees only on condition that the union be reorganized on the basis of plant locals. The latter provision makes the A. F. of L. organization into a counterpart of the old Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, the much-hated "4-L" company union sponsored by the operators during the war.

With the National Guard gone from Tacoma, the only large centers in which the men were still out on strike were Aberdeen, Hoquiam, and Raymond, on the coast. These are also the only locals which have maintained rank-and-file control. Mass picket lines several hundred strong were built there daily in the face of three companies of the National Guard. At Aberdeen 9,000 men and women paraded the streets on July 8 as a protest against the strike-breaking tactics of the "Cossacks" and the "tin soldiers" or "boy scouts" (the state patrol and the National Guard). But even there the strike lines weakened at the end of the thirteenth week. A mass demonstration of 800 Aberdeen pickets on August 12 led to the appointment of Brigadier General Carlos Pennington of the National Guard as "arbitrator" by Governor Martin. The discouraged strikers voted on August 15 to accept the operators' terms, pending negotiations on the crucial point of union recognition.

The greatest benefit derived from the strike has been the education of the rank and file of the workers. The settlements reached so far are a far cry from the original demands of seventy-five cents an hour, the thirty-hour week, and full union recognition. The rank and file of the workers know that the strike was broken, and why.

The operators could not have smashed the militancy of the strikers by their own efforts alone. In the early stages of the strike they attacked the union and openly threatened vigilante violence through full-page newspaper ads of the "Committee of 500," the Seattle Chamber of Commerce in disguise. But these ads ceased after an exposure of one of the committee's meetings in the labor paper *Voice of Action*. The news columns of the daily press were open to the operators, who issued statements that their financial condition made it impossible for them to pay higher wages, but the labor press countered by printing figures from the United States Department of Commerce for 1933, showing that the seventy-four mills in the Seattle-Tacoma area had paid in wages $5,750,782, while the net profits for the year had been $5,817,401, or nearly 30 per cent of the gross business done. The use of the state's military forces in the attempt to break the strike influenced public opinion in favor of the strikers. Since picketing by the union was forbidden, many acts of violence were committed daily by desperate individuals; there were street fights against known "scabs" and bombing of their homes and cars as well as of mill property. Thus military violence bred labor violence, and strike-breaking was kept down to a minimum. Also the unions were able to obtain injunctions against the stopping of picketing in Aberdeen, Longview, and Chehalis. But the state police often paid little attention to the court orders.

It is clear that the operators, even with the armed forces of the state under their control, were not strong enough to break the strike. The decisive factor was the splitting of the union ranks by the union officials themselves. Just how the "labor leaders" came to play into the hands of the employers is not known, but objectively speaking they cooperated well. When the preliminary strike conference was held in March, the conservative International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was given jurisdiction over the budding new union. This course was perhaps chosen by A. F. of L. officials in preference to building a new union because of the industry's early background of I. W. W. unionism. When May 6, the date set for the strike, neared, the august Brotherhood tried to postpone action "pending further negotiations." But the rank and file recognized that this merely gave the operators a chance to store up lumber and refused to wait. In Bellingham they went out a week early to stop such action by the operators. In Everett, on the night of May 5, Leo P. Flynn of the Seattle Carpenters and Joiners threatened to remove the charter of the local unless it postponed strike action; he was escorted from the Labor Temple. The strike was on, and by the end of the week 40,000 timber workers were out.

The elder statesmen in the Brotherhood showed little enthusiasm. President Hutchinson of the Carpenters and Joiners sent Abe W. Muir up from San Francisco as his district representative. Muir spent most of his time conferring with the operators, while the rank and file of various unions "pulled out" lagging mills to make the strike front solid. At one mill near Seattle, "pulled out" by rank-and-file longshoremen chiefly, the strikers had to wait for days for the union to send out someone to sign them up.

Muir apparently tried to break the strike from the first. He encouraged the McCormick mills in Port Ludlow and in Oregon to continue operating after they had granted merely a five-cent raise in pay without real union recognition, and these mills worked day and night shifts for weeks supplying their own orders and those of other members of the West Coast Lumbermen's Association.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mills in southern Oregon continued to operate and Muir made no move to organize them. He kept 3,000 Longview workers from striking for more than a week by continual "negotiations." He offered the McCormick settlement, now known as the "Muir plan," to strikers in Portland, Longview, and other places, but they turned it down.

Finally on June 6, a month after the strike had started, the Northwest Joint Strike Committee was set up at an Aberdeen conference of 240 rank-and-file delegates to take the terms of settlement out of Muir's hands. The committee went back to the original demands and called for a rank-and-file vote on any settlement, to be supervised by the committee. From this date on, Muir's chief fight was directed against this body, and quite naturally, for his job and salary were threatened by it. He issued statements calling it a dual organization dominated by reds, which was patently false.

Muir then embarked on a charter-pulling campaign, starting with Longview and Aberdeen. He encouraged strike-breaking in Longview by signing up the few men who returned in new Carpenters and Joiners' company locals, and one charter was hung in the company dining-room of the Long-Bell plant. The head of the Long-Bell local was formerly president of the 4-L local there, and the first meetings were guarded by state police. But the Central Labor Council refused to unseat the Sawmill Workers' delegates. Five hundred of the strike leaders were never rehired by the company. The Sawmill and Timber Workers' local is suing the Carpenters and Joiners for $500,000 damages, with the trial date set for September 13.

In Aberdeen the old local was replaced by two new ones separating the loggers from the mill workers. A Seattle official frankly told a reporter that the purpose of this "reorganization" was "to get rid of the Joint Strike Committee." But the Aberdeen rank and file were so solid that Muir had to back down and let the rank-and-file workers in a body into one of the new unions. "Aberdeen is quite a problem—I'd rather not talk about it," said the Seattle official.

In Everett, the headquarters of the Joint Strike Committee, Muir's strike-breaking reached new heights. The union there had turned down the "Muir plan" by a vote of 1,500 to 3. Early in July the operators threatened to take advantage of Governor Martin's kind offer of the loan of the National Guard. The Everett Central Labor Council threatened a general strike if this occurred. The operators put off action for a week. Meanwhile Muir removed the charter of the rank-and-file local there and called the workers in the six largest plants to six meetings, in order to issue them separate charters on a plant basis. The workers voted this down, but had to accept it in the end because they wished to stay in the A. F. of L.

When Muir had thus confused the situation, the operators called in sixty state police and all the mills opened at once on July 15. The "Cossacks" broke up all picket lines. A Muir man stood with the police and pointed out the rank-and-file leaders, who were then arrested. Civil rights were suspended, home-owners were chased from their own front yards in the mill district, and one man waiting for a bus was struck by police when he refused to move on. That afternoon the Joint Strike Committee organized a protest parade of 2,000 strikers and sympathizers, with an American flag at the head. The police broke it up and arrested twenty-four rank-and-file leaders, including Max Barnett, secretary of the Joint Strike Committee. Several hundred paraders stormed the jail that evening. The men were released the next day, but the strike was broken. Everett marked the turning-point in the strike, and the operators no doubt heaved a sigh of relief when those days were over.

There is now a strong "Wobbly" sentiment in Everett, Aberdeen, and other places in favor of splitting away from Muir and the whole A. F. of L. But the majority feel that this would merely give Muir a chance to shout "dual unionism" and are bending their efforts toward strengthening rank-and-file control in the union and getting rid of the Muirs in the A. F. of L.

Besides the education of the rank and file, the three-month strike resulted in certain other gains. Union recognition was not won and the strike was broken, but the men are going back to work organized, and if the maritime strike was any criterion the strike-breakers will not last very long on their jobs. The workers are now hired through union halls free of charge instead of through employment agencies notorious for favoritism and fee-splitting with employers, who kept "two crews—one going and one coming." The fifty-cent minimum wage represents an increase of from five to seven and a half cents over the old wage, and adjustments in the upper brackets have increased the pay of skilled workers to as much as $1 an hour in some places. Hours remain at forty.

The workers have lost their faith in the old-line union leadership and their illusions in the impartiality of the state. There is dynamite in the situation, figuratively as well as literally. The Sawmill and Timber Workers' Union may turn out to be the Paul Bunyan of the Northwest labor movement.

Contributors to This Issue

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN is the executive secretary of the American Association for Social Security and author of "The Challenge of the Aged" and "Insecurity—a Challenge to America."

EMIL LENGYEL is the author of "Hitler," "The Cauldron Boils," and "The New Deal in Europe."

CAREY MCWILLIAMS is a California lawyer and journalist.

SELDEN C. MENEFEE is a teaching assistant in sociology at the University of Washington.

MARY MCCARTHY frequently contributes reviews of new fiction to *The Nation*.

HANS KOHN, professor of history at Smith College, is the author of "Orient and Occident" and "Nationalism in the Soviet Union."

Next Week in The Nation

Eight Months of Congress

By PAUL W. WARD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Salvation from Within

Vein of Iron. By Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

AS distinguished from those novelists who believe that a disorganized and unjust political system can be replaced by one which will offer to the individual the order and justice he needs and deserves, Miss Glasgow, fully recognizing the harsh illogic of the world today, presents a counter-theory of salvation of the individual by his own integrity and inner virtue. Her scene is the Great Valley of Virginia; her protagonists are the Fincastle family, chiefly exemplified by grandmother, son, and granddaughter, descendants from a line of pioneers who sought the first American frontier in the face of wild forest and wilder savages, and possessors of the iron that brought the earlier members of the family through the trials of establishing a nation. The story begins with ten-year-old Ada in the year 1900; it ends in 1932, with Ada and her sixteen-year-old son carrying on the Fincastle tradition, after years of privation, humiliation, and disappointment, through a World War, a decade of post-war recklessness, and the first four years of world-wide depression.

Miss Glasgow, in other words, has attempted to cover a large canvas in time and to touch the lives of most of the villagers of Ironside with the movement of the world for thirty years. Her Fincastles during that time have plenty of suffering on which to test the edge of their fortitude. Ada's first disappointment, the doll with real hair that she wanted and the doll with a china head that she got, is by no means her last. She lives to lose her lover to a slut, to watch her mother die of a lingering and painful illness, to bear her child in ignominy, to nurse her husband through war-engendered despair, to experience bitter poverty. But such is the bright strength of her spirit that she is as ready for a new life at forty as she might have been at ten, and has as much energy, resilience, and tenderness to undertake it. Nor is her inner fortitude Ada's only consolation; her two-day idyl on a mountain top, the happy first years of her marriage, the closeness of her family, the enduring love of her husband, these also sustain her. It is to Miss Glasgow's credit that her Ada, if she is firm, is not a prig; if she can bear sorrow, she can also experience joy; and she has her moments of rebellion.

Only the stubbornly doctrinaire will quarrel with a novelist for saving the world in his own way; and salvation by inner virtue may be as good a way as any other. Miss Glasgow is a writer of comedy; in comedy you may lift yourself by your own bootstraps, so long as you experience the ultimate lift. Ada was brought to peace and sufficient comfort at last by her own ardent endurance; her father by the consolations of philosophy; her grandmother by her unshakable confidence in the existence of God. For their friends the Hamblens, who perfectly exemplified the dignified and decorous tradition which the Fincastles—and through them, one may guess, Miss Glasgow—admired, dignity and decorum were not enough to keep them from disaster. When their small living was swept away in a bank crash, they could find no other way out than suicide. Perhaps the wild post-war generation, who discarded dignity for reckless pleasure and substituted for decorum a heartless irregularity, were right after all. Perhaps only those are saved by inner virtue who are born under a lucky star, or who are designed for the heroines of comedy. The less fortunate majority may require the world to move before they are relieved of their suffering.

Miss Glasgow's readers, of course, are not bound to resolve these problems. They can be content with a novel of more than average interest and intensity by a novelist with more than ordinary skill at creating characters who breathe and walk by themselves. They may complain that too many events are crowded into a book that nevertheless sometimes seems too long; they may object that disappointment suffered by a person in a story must not be too clearly suspected by the reader in advance. They will still be able to read a novel important not only for its description of contemporary life but for its recollections of one of the most moving aspects of the American past. That Virginia which Miss Glasgow knows so well she makes more clear with every book she writes; as it continues to be familiar, it will also be received with affectionate admiration.

DOROTHY VAN DOREN

The NRA and Recovery

The National Recovery Administration. By Leverett S. Lyon, Paul T. Homan, George Terborgh, Lewis Lorwin, Charles Dearing, and Leon C. Marshall. The Brookings Institution. $3.50.

THE authors of this book could scarcely have foreseen that within a few weeks after the publication of their work the NRA—which had been one of the most controversial and spectacular political developments in American history—would be of only academic interest. Even after the Schechter decision few persons anticipated that the principles upon which the NRA was based would vanish from the public consciousness almost as quickly as they had appeared. But the social and political significance of this grotesque attempt to lift the country out of the depression by its economic bootstraps is in no way affected by the Supreme Court decision. As America's first large-scale experiment in government regulation of business, the NRA—with all its absurdities—is of incomparable importance to those who would build tomorrow's world.

Had the authors been forewarned of the early collapse of the NRA machinery, they would have doubtless altered the plan of their volume somewhat. As it is, the greater part of its 900 pages is devoted to a comprehensive and painstaking analysis of code making and administration. Apart from the concluding section—and brief comments at the close of each of the earlier ones—no attempt is made to evaluate the policies described. Yet the mere presentation of facts, divorced from the ballyhoo and emotion of the early days of the Blue Eagle, is guaranteed to give the average reader a far more unfavorable picture of the NRA than he had previously held.

In contrast to the general excellence of the study, the first chapter—dealing with the origins and background of the act—is frankly disappointing. The authors touch lightly upon certain precedents, such as the Federal Trade Commission and war-time experience with industrial control, and sketch briefly a few of the lines of thought prominent during the depression which appear to have influenced the NRA. But the basic question of how this peculiar assortment of nostrums and economic fallacies happened to be made the basis of the most far-reaching legislation in American history remains unanswered. Until someone provides us with detailed information regarding the personalities who aided in shaping this legislation, their experience and background, together with an analysis of the dominant political and economic forces of the day, there will remain a serious gap in the popular understanding of the recovery program.

It is manifestly impossible in the space available even to summarize those sections of the book which describe the com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plicated mechanism of the NRA. The value of these chapters is materially enhanced by the fact that several of the authors occupied important posts in the National Recovery Administration and played a role in shaping the policies which they describe. To their credit it may be said that this does not appear to interfere in any way with the objectivity of the study. They have given a faithful picture not only of the achievements of administration but also of the incredible confusion and chaos which existed. In part this anarchy was due to haste and an almost complete lack of precedents. In the main, however, it was the outgrowth of the conflicting objectives of the act itself. The assumption that reform and recovery were synonymous proved ill-grounded. Yet no one appears to have seen clearly which of the two goals should come first. The result was a system of trial and error which the authors describe as proceeding "beyond the bounds of caution with thoughtless disregard of consequences."

The nearest to a critical appraisal of the NRA as a whole is found in Mr. Terborgh's section, which analyzes the effect of the act in terms of recovery. Admitting the difficulty involved in disentangling the influence of the NRA from the multitude of other factors affecting the situation, Mr. Terborgh nevertheless presents considerable evidence to indicate that the codes hindered rather than aided the recovery movement. Having pointed out the fallacy of the theory that a business revival can be attained through raising wage rates, either prior to or simultaneously with an increase in prices, he shows that the NRA violated the basic premise of the theory. The rise in *hourly wage rates* was approximately the same as that of the cost of living and wholesale commodity prices, but prices were the first to advance. Moreover, contrary to the popular impression, "less than half of the employees in all industries combined had their hourly wage rate raised as a result of the NRA," while the majority of those whose hourly rates were increased "were already making more real income per hour than they made before the depression." Such advance as occurred in hourly earnings was offset, furthermore, by the restriction of hours under the codes and the increased cost of living. After careful calculation, the author concludes that the average real income per employed worker, as contrasted with dollar wages, showed a decline of 5 to 6 per cent under the NRA. Since employment was spread by approximately the same percentage, it is evident that the workers who were previously employed "provided the principal source from which the newly added workers obtained their . . . income." And after analyzing fluctuations in property income, Mr. Terborgh concludes that very little change has occurred in the basic distribution between labor and capital, though he feels that the income of both groups might have been somewhat higher if it had not been for the restrictive effect of the codes.

Many readers will doubtless be somewhat disturbed to find the staff of the Brookings Institution coming out so emphatically against the NRA and especially angry at its rejection of the widely held theory that recovery can be hastened through a general increase in wage rates. It is true that its basic criticisms of the codes are very much the same as those made by conservatives in the spring of 1933. But before jumping to the conclusion that the Brookings Institution has sold out to the Liberty League and the Republican Party, one should study its underlying economic arguments in connection with those advanced in the earlier Brookings volumes, "America's Capacity to Consume" and "The Formation of Capital." On the surface the basic conclusion of the latter—that the depression is due to an increasing maldistribution of wealth—may seem to conflict with the criticism of the NRA wage theory. Actually, however, the books are wholly consistent. All are based on the assumption that the production of goods and services—real wealth—and not money is the basis of economic well-being. The NRA failed because it tended to restrict production rather than to expand it. "The Formation of Capital" argues that permanent prosperity can only be achieved through a fundamental redistribution of wealth. The present book shows that under the capitalist system this is a far more complicated task than merely raising hourly wage rates, particularly if the latter can only be gained through the fostering of monopoly practices.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Middle Western Marriage

Dwell in the Wilderness. By Alvah C. Bessie. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

THIS family novel of the Middle West has its end and its beginning in the marriage ceremony performed in 1888 over Eben Isaac Morris, young proprietor of a drygoods emporium, and Amelia Millard, a clergyman's daughter. Superficially it was a commonplace Victorian marriage. Amelia was no beauty, and Eben was no catch. Having met and fancied each other, they had gone through an elaborate, rigidly supervised courtship. Once, at the time of their engagement, they had been allowed to kiss, under her parents' monitory eyes. They had dined and attended church and sung hymns in the parlor. Yet for all this caution, decorum, and common sense, theirs was a union which bore within it the seeds of insanity and disaster. On the wedding night it was apparent that the half-hysterical girl, who had been taught to hate the flesh as she would the devil, was the victim of a deep-seated sex neurosis. In subsequent years she produced four living children, but whenever her husband tried to kiss her mouth, she proffered him a pale and horrified cheek. Thirty-odd years of respectable wedlock turned her into a domineering old woman, fearful and at the same time pathetic, a paranoiac, unrecognized as such by her own family. Thirty-odd years of ungratified love of life made Eben Morris an economic failure, a futile, emasculated, bewildered derelict. Of the four children, one grew up to be a priggish, big-shot executive; one was a drunkard; one a homosexual; one a sad, poetic, maladjusted divorcée.

The demons that haunt the Morris household are, of course, familiars of contemporary fiction, yet they are still terrifying. The psychopathological offshoots of nineteenth-century moralistic dualism have been studied before; they remain engrossing. Were Mr. Bessie equipped with the proper scientific implements with which to probe the character of Amelia, "Dwell in the Wilderness" might have been a fine novel. In its present form it is a disorganized, deceptively lifelike piece of work. It has moments of genuine horror and a continuous superficial verisimilitude. The material aspects of the family life are at all times sharply presented. Using a dozen different recent techniques of the novel—the interior monologue, the dream, the revery, newspaper citations, snatches of popular songs, the shifting point of view, the sharp parenthesis breaking the long, loose-jointed colloquial sentence—Mr. Bessie has contrived to make the behavior of his people recognizable and therefore half true.

Beyond this, however, he cannot go: behavior he perceives, but not its sources. The novel revolves about Eben and Amelia. It is the woman's sexual illness, plus the man's inability to deal with it, which poisons the family cell. Each action of the novel should, accordingly, spring, directly or indirectly, out of the central situation, or, conversely, impinge upon it. Unluckily, Mr. Bessie was unable to plumb the center of his story; consequently it exerts neither centrifugal nor centripetal force upon the subordinate actions. In many instances the characters, tastes, and careers of the four children are in no way predi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cated upon the marriage of their parents, with the result that they seem irrational, and the novel comes to remind one of a rambling family history, spirited but pointless.

MARY MCCARTHY

Russian Reminiscences

The Grinding Mill. Reminiscences of War and Revolution in Russia (1913-1920). By Prince A. Lobanov-Rostovsky. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THIS book contains no new information, but it conveys successfully an atmosphere, and although this atmosphere of Russia, war, and revolution is not unknown, the book will interest many readers because it is well written and full of life and movement. At the beginning of the World War the author was a member of the high Russian aristocracy in his very early twenties. To judge from the book, which is an intimate narrative of the young man's life and feelings during those troubled years, he far surpassed his comrades in education, intelligence, and gentleness. He naturally writes from the point of view of an extremely wealthy Russian aristocrat; the book tries to record his feelings and thoughts at the time of the events. But they were not typical of the average Russian officer of his class. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky seems to have been more humane and refined than most of them. Was it this fact or a certain sheltered position that never allowed him to see the cruelty and unspeakable savagery of the civil war in Russia? "That was the only time in my life I saw a knout," he remarks after a visit in 1920 to the offices of the Inter-Allied Commission in Constantinople—after having spent five years in Russia during the war and the various phases of the counter-revolution. This one sentence reveals the striking one-sidedness of the book.

I did not witness the civil war in southern Russia, where Prince Lobanov saw it. I witnessed it during two years in Siberia, "the only place," as Prince Lobanov writes, "where a popular movement against the reds seemed to be afoot." There it was clearly the use of the knout by the white Russian officers, not only against the reds and the greens, but against their own soldiers and the civilian population, which contributed largely to the loss of the civil war notwithstanding all the initial advantages which the white armies had enjoyed. All the counter-revolutionary efforts against the Bolsheviks were doomed, not only because of the political backwardness of the personally honest white leaders but also because of the moral superiority of the red armies. The red soldiers were fighting "in a crusading spirit for a definite ideal," and the brutal and unintelligent behavior of many of the officers of the white armies turned the civilian population and the soldiers of the white armies into sympathizers with the reds.

Of the real horrors of war and civil war little is to be found in the book. But the years were full of excitement and of stirring events. Prince Lobanov served on the Russian-German front from 1914 to 1917, came at the beginning of the revolution to Petrograd, went in the autumn of 1917 via England to Salonika, fought then with the Russian units in France, joined the army of Denikin in southern Russia, and escaped in January, 1920, to Constantinople and Paris. Of all these events the author talks in an interesting, vivid, and intelligent way which will win many readers. And he succeeds in bringing out how life adjusts itself to horrors and upheavals and how everyday routine makes people quickly forget past miseries. Prince Lobanov is an ardent Russian nationalist who finally accepts the Russian Revolution in the faith that it will bring new life and a new civilization to Russia.

HANS KOHN

Shorter Notices

Redder than the Rose. By Robert Forsythe. Covici-Friede. $2.

The formula for the regular contributor to the *New Masses* who signs himself Robert Forsythe is that he is at once a Communist and a humorist. Yet even this not so astounding paradox does not quite cover the case. More precisely, Mr. Forsythe's method is to use some of the most cherished devices of bourgeois humor to persuade a bourgeois audience of the rightness of his convictions. The reference is so clearly to the wearily sophisticated background of middle-class culture that it is doubtful whether this writer's doctrinal bedfellows will find his book as hilariously funny as those who, like himself, were born to that culture. In brief, these little essays on current American asininities are by and for someone who has been until quite recently taken in by them. One has the feeling that Mr. Forsythe chastises such personages as Mae West, H. L. Mencken, Alexander Woollcott, and J. P. Morgan with such jubilant ardor because he recognizes how narrowly he has escaped their influence. In the case of Mencken, to whom he devotes a full-length obituary, he does not actually escape the influence. Menckenisms abound in his style, as do also the subtler cuckoo notes of Thurber, Frank Sullivan, and the other unregenerate harlequins admonished in the Lardner article. But the difference between this book and most of the products of recent American humor is nevertheless profound. Communism gives not only a point but a kind of salubrious glow to the best pieces—those on Hearst, Ernest Hemingway, the Vanderbilts and their rats, the president of the College of the City of New York. Those that adopt the more serious, the haranguing note are less effective. Mr. Forsythe's real gift is for making the American public aware of itself by using one of its own best self-protective weapons against it. He should leave the proselytizing to those less inhibited by a sense of humor. At present he must be about the only humorist in this country writing out of a fixed social point of view, and to sacrifice this position would be a loss both to humor and the country.

They Shoot Horses, Don't They? By Horace McCoy. Simon and Schuster. $2.

This unpretentious novel of the hard-boiled school tells of a dance marathon and a mercy murder that marked its close. While neither the style nor the point of view is original, the milieu is, and Mr. McCoy writes with the authority of one who has himself been a bouncer in a marathon on the California coast. Unlike the earlier "tough" novelists from whom he inherited his staccato prose, Mr. McCoy is not solely occupied with the presentation of horror for its own sake. Though the titillation of the reader's nerves is his chief objective, he does, by implication at least, condemn the economic set-up which is responsible for the brutalized human beings he puts on exhibit. The book is full of an inverted romanticism: it is hardly possible that all the contestants in dance marathons are such sensational characters as Mr. McCoy suggests. Were it not in its physical details so carefully documented, it would be lurid beyond belief.

The Land of Shvambrania. By Leo Kassil. The Viking Press. $2.

Any one of the millions of Americans who nurture the belief that the Russian of today is a dull-witted, serious fellow, dedicated to the threshing machine and the tractor, would do well to investigate this curious hybrid fantasy, "The Land of Shvambrania." The first thing of its kind to come out of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U. S. S. R., it is a strange but satisfactory compound of truth and fancy, satire and revolutionary feeling. Shvambrania, a mythical island with the contours of an enormous tooth, was first imagined by two sons of a Jewish provincial doctor in the year 1914. Though Shvambrania was a dream kingdom, it was not altogether out of touch with reality. The events of the world at large had their burlesque parallels in Shvambranian history. When the revolution came to Russia, the imaginary kingdom dethroned its king, and the occupation of its people was changed from war to athletics. However, as the revolution gained in stability, and the energies of the boys were diverted more and more into the building of a new state, the spell of Shvambrania lost its potency. Less and less often the boys played the game, until at last they abolished it with public festivities. The story of the growth and decline of Shvambrania, here reconstructed by Leo Kassil, the elder of the doctor's sons, is alternated with the account of the upheaval that shook their provincial town as it was shaking all Russia. Reality is as outlandish as the fairy tale, and both are accepted by the children with unquestioning enthusiasm. This sprightly novel, witty and exaggerated and learned, tells the human, day-to-day truth about the revolution more perspicaciously than a dozen factual studies.

Four Roads to Death. By Benjamin Appel. Alfred Knopf. $2.

This story of an expedition into the Taklamakan desert of Chinese Turkestan is rather heavily reminiscent of James Hilton's "Lost Horizon." It contains a similar unsynthesized mixture of mystery, adventure, mysticism, and parlor philosophy. Four persons, backed by a New York millionaire, set out to find gold in the buried cities of the Chinese desert. A beautiful woman, a novelist, a go-getting business man, and a pseudo-Buddhist explorer—they represent respectively the lust for adventure, fame, money, and power. The effect of the unsuccessful expedition upon each of these carefully pigeonholed characters makes up the novel, which, except for two splendid chapters, is an uninspired, repetitious piece of nonsense. These chapters, which deal with the crazy, despairing trek toward water across endless stretches of unchanging desert, occur unfortunately at the end of the book, and only the most tenacious reader will win through to them.

The Voice of Bugle Ann. By MacKinlay Kantor. Coward-McCann. $1.25.

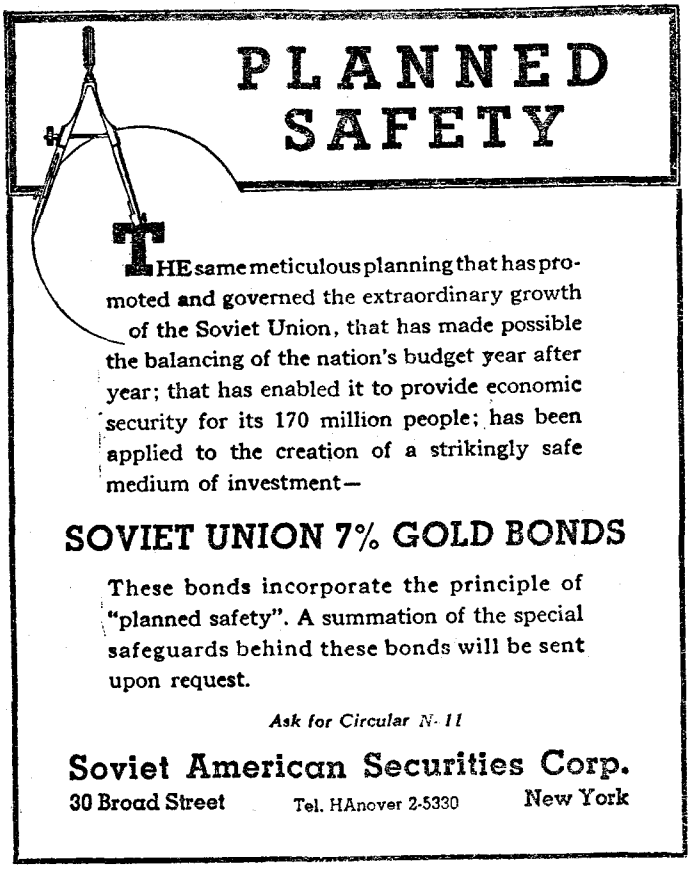
"The Voice of Bugle Ann" is a dog story. A dreamy, crooning tale, it has not even the spirit of its foxhound heroine. It has a thin mystery plot, a soporific cadenced prose, and a fine melancholy reverence for the spirit of the Old South. Its setting is the Missouri hill country, its time the present, its author a more or less distinguished novelist. Yet with its vague sense of characterization, regional, temporal, or human, it might have been written by any senescent, dog-fancying Southern colonel a hundred years ago.

The Poems of W. H. Davies. Oxford University Press. $3.
Love Poems. By W. H. Davies. Oxford University Press. $1.25.

The world of literary journalism has its major mysteries, and one of them is how Mr. Davies's outpourings could have elicited praise from a variety of people ranging from Sir John Squire to Bernard Shaw. The jacket of this new collection of his poems contains excerpts from three leading English journals, the *Observer,* the *Daily Telegraph,* and the *Times Literary Supplement,* hailing him as the poet who has kept the springs of English poesy free from contamination. One is forced to conclude that the current state of criticism is somewhat lower in England than in America. Mr. Davies sometimes pleases by a deftness in the manipulation of tinkling rhymes and a naive astonishment in the presence of nature, but his work is all surface, everything that he says has been much better said long ago, and he is emotionally and intellectually sub-adolescent. Most objectionable of all is the naughty snigger with which he steals a kiss or takes a drink of ale, acts which in certain quarters have given him a reputation for boldness.

A History of Europe: Ancient and Mediaeval. Volume I. By H. A. L. Fisher. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

Mr. Fisher covers the period from Neolithic man down to the end of the Middle Ages in not much more than four hundred pages. This feat of compression he accomplishes by ignoring—except in occasional paragraphs—economic and cultural developments and concentrating on the activities of such politically prominent individuals as Augustus, Charlemagne, Barbarossa, and the like. Mr. Fisher confesses himself unable to discern in history "a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern," and believes that the chief part in "the development of human destinies" is played by "the contingent and the unforeseen." He is a historian in the eighteenth-century manner, for whom the various schools of historical interpretation which developed in the nineteenth century might never have existed. Unfortunately he is lacking in the intellectual passion and the verbal skill of a Gibbon or a Voltaire. He endeavors to be picturesque and epigrammatic but succeeds only in being stilted and rhetorical. This book may have some use as a textbook or a work of reference—Mr. Fisher has made use of the most recent scholarship and seems to be generally accurate—but it has little value as literature, and it is of intellectual interest only because it provokes one to ask why a man of Mr. Fisher's eminence should have devoted himself to a study which, if taken at his own valuation, is so wholly meaningless.


PLANNED
SAFETY
THE same meticulous planning that has promoted and governed the extraordinary growth of the Soviet Union, that has made possible the balancing of the nation's budget year after year; that has enabled it to provide economic security for its 170 million people; has been applied to the creation of a strikingly safe medium of investment—
SOVIET UNION 7% GOLD BONDS
These bonds incorporate the principle of "planned safety". A summation of the special safeguards behind these bonds will be sent upon request.
Ask for Circular N-11
Soviet American Securities Corp.
30 Broad Street
Tel. HAnover 2-5330
New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED